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VER JUBILEE

Birmingham hopes to keep alive the street party spirit with committees for community care

Mr Osman and
Parker

Thousands of street parties arranged to celebrate the jubilee in Birmingham start yesterday in some and will be followed in many others today.

In West Midlands an will be made to keep the community spirit the create. Mrs Freda Lord Mayor of Birmingham is called a conference is 18 to which jubilee are invited to send messages.

is anxious to see the remains in being to a permanent focus for the care in each street. They will be held by aged and disabled and vandalism.

could be a shame if all of work in breaking barriers between neighbours and the creating of a city spirit were to be soon as the celebration she said. The establishment of "jubilee streets" be a permanent and file memorial to the 25 years reign.

Mrs Cocks will spend our touring dozens of and celebrations, Birmingham's jubilee which has replaced the ring tulip festival.

lorry or so babies born city today, will be an engraved silver mug presented at a party for

them and their parents later in the year, although Mrs Cocks will see some of the arrivals when she tours three maternity hospitals today.

At Lichfield, Staffordshire, every child and members of the church school today will receive a ceramic medallion made by Thelma Leech, a local potter. Only 400 have been produced and the mould will be destroyed to ensure that the medallions keep their rarity value.

Two large banners from Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee and the coronation of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra have been found in perfect condition at Fazeley, Staffordshire, and will help to decorate today's celebrations. They were discovered in the clock tower of the town hall.

The centre of Manchester yesterday was grim and grey, with almost deserted streets and no official decorations. Only a few brave, but damp, Union Jacks could be seen flying defiantly.

The council decided not to spend money on city centre decorations, and large areas of the conurbation bear no visible signs of celebration, although there are some notable exceptions.

It is not because the area is less than loyal to the Crown. It is simply, according to Mr Thomas Leatherbarrow, the city's public relations officer, a case of heading the Governor's advice not to spend too

much in view of the general economic state of the country.

In addition Manchester is saving its energies for the Queen's visit on June 20, and for September, when the centenary of the building of Manchester Town Hall is to be held, along with the first lord mayor's parade to be held.

In Moss Side and Hulme, areas that have been redeveloped with huge blocks of flats, it is a rare sight to see a flag or picture of the Queen. The older, more familiar streets of terraced housing, on the other hand, seem to be much more involved in celebrations.

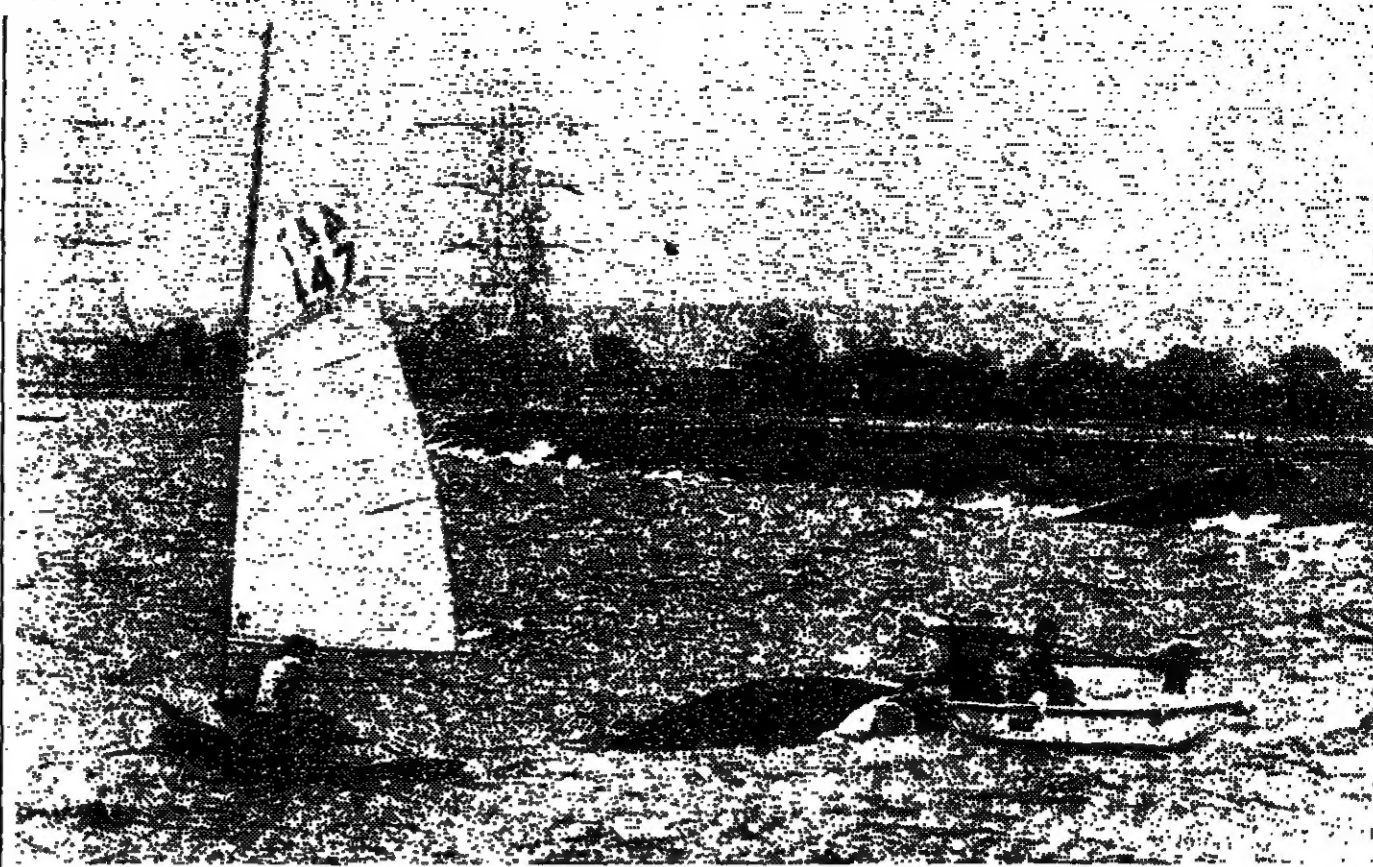
In Blackburn, Lancashire, the large Asian community, about a tenth of the population, is involved more than expected with jubilee celebrations. Mr Leonard Pross, the community relations officer, said it was encouraging to see Asians taking part in the organization of multiracial street parties in places such as Brookhouse.

Warrington has dozens of street parties organized for today. So have Rochdale, Oldham, Leigh, and other towns and communities on the periphery of the Greater Manchester conurbation.

Some street parties are called off because of the rain.

Liverpool, like Manchester, is saving most of its celebrations for the Queen's visit on June 21, although hundreds of street parties have been organized for today.

Leading article, page 11



Photograph by Harry Kerr

Jubilee soaking: Waves, whipped up by high wind, lashing the banks as a rescue boat makes for a yacht that capsized yesterday during the Jack Holt jubilee regatta at Queen Mary's Reservoir, near Staines, Surrey. Many of the 80 entrants in the event found it impossible to start and few of the starters were able to finish as the wind gusts to force eight.

A ton of orders for the Fleet review

A ton and a quarter of paper has been used in issuing naval orders to the 170 ships taking part in the jubilee review at Spithead on June 28. Although most of the ships to be reviewed by the Queen on board the royal yacht Britannia are from the Royal Navy, the largest and smallest ships they are the British Resolute, a

270,000-ton BP tanker, which has travelled 250,000 miles in the past three years carrying 2,500,000 tons of crude oil, and an inflatable rubber inshore rescue craft of the Royal National Life-boat Institution. About a hundred Royal Navy ships will be involved, together with auxiliary service vessels and 20 foreign and Commonwealth ships.

The United States is sending a nuclear-powered cruiser, the California, and an atomic-powered submarine, the Bullfish. About thirty vessels of various British maritime organizations have also been invited. The Elder Brethren of Trinity House, in the Poole, will exercise their traditional right of leading the Sovereign through the review lines.

Doctors in 15 lands gave sight to 113,714

By a Staff Reporter

For more than a hundred thousand people of the Commonwealth today is especially joyous. Each was blind but now, thanks to the Royal Commonwealth Society for the Blind, who made a special effort during the past year to mark the jubilee, all 113,714 can see again.

The achievement is announced to mark the work of the society and the Queen's jubilee day. She is patron of the society and has congratulated it and its associated organizations throughout the Commonwealth.

In 15 Commonwealth countries of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean medical teams examined 1,290,780 people and treated 842,971 for eye defects. They performed 28,412 operations to prevent imminent blindness and restored sight to the 113,714, a number equal to all the blind in England and Wales.

In the Indian subcontinent schools, community centres and tents were turned into improvised hospitals. In villages and townships people opened their homes to provide temporary wards and voluntary help. Local eye surgeons worked round the clock, often each performing more than 100 cataract operations a day. One project was supported by Rotary clubs in the United Kingdom.

land

Stoic beacon-builders title with weather

Donald Faur

It is not the weather for jubilee beacons in the last night. A deep ion trailed a blanket of cloud and heavy rain the breadth of the as stoic log-bearers on 25 prominent landmarks in appalling meteorological station at the Castle, in Fife, had news for the thousands of visitors who telephoned, "wreath is wreathed", an old time. The reason well marked depression on Stranraer and head for Gretna Green, leaving all of severe, downed strong winds.

of the beacons were on exposed sites in the north. The first in the east and central Scotland at Dun Rigg Hill, near the second on Seald the Pevlans, and the third at the top of the chain continuing

don

Street revellers brave the rain and bitter wind

Mr Bernhead

is, by common consent, the weather for street "Perishing cold" was a that sprang to some "More like Christmas jubilee" as another thought as two days of celebrations got y in London streets

Yards of streets had been to traffic. Yesterday d bunting strained at workings in bitter winds. s were out, and there quent dashes for cover vs came and went.

primarily, an occasion dren with some adult n the evenings. Sand- could be produced from ies of helpers only at minute to be laid on rowed tables, in case ng blew away. Record had to taken indoors ayed from windows of the rain. But the at least did not seem e the strained element safety.

ton Gardens, in South- uth London, provided etypal suburban setting such brave gathering- stone's throw from the ircular and from the ilway line from King's

proud to be British" child's drawing in one inside number 32 Mrs Macmillan, chirpy, and competent, was super- ho tea arrangements. le, red roses beez against the leaded

One parent was greatly delighted by the gathering Mrs Judy Thompson, from Melbourne, Australia, with her two children and husband, said: "The children love the street activities in this square."

It was pleasant to think that, despite the cold, some of the warmth of a London community had reached the heart of a visitor and that the jubilee spirit had here, as in many streets, made a contribution to neighbourliness.

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Dragon gives way to Jack

revor Fishlock

ed Dragon, even though ue pokes out defiantly, tail is twisted into a independent curl, is t, an amiable and cour- flow, and has to a large given way to the Union the jubilee decorations streets of Wales.

Friday the flags were and damp, much like itself, and the street organizers had plans to on the emergency pro- suborned in the terse nt: If Wet in Village

t decorators spent hours good the damage caused h wind, vicious rain

throughout Scotland to the outer points of Shetland and the Western Isles. Local Rotary and Round Table clubs organized their own beacons to fit in with the line of celebration fire.

Elsewhere in Scotland jubilee celebrations were left to local communities to organize. With the Queen's recent state visit north of the border, and the train of pomp and ceremony that that entailed, there were few official celebrations to follow on Jubilee Day, as the focus had returned to London.

Strathclyde region, which covers half the Scottish population, had organized no official events, and the Scottish Office, heavily involved with the Queen's recent visit, closed for an extra long weekend.

But in many streets in Edinburgh and Glasgow ke-making and tea-brewing went ahead full tilt, and many street communities and tenants' associations organized their own celebrations.

Window panes as Stewart Wallace, a red-headed social worker organized. "It's a Knockout" type games with a megaphone for four dozen delighted children. Bunting, balloons and coloured electric lights strung up by Robert McLeish, a local electrician, threatened to take off in the wind. After tea at a rattle band arrived.

A sound working rule yesterday in London was: "The weather the street, the less likely it is to have a party." Was it because those who lead privileged lives with interesting jobs and money have less need for royal pageantry and jubilee parties? Certainly the more elegant streets of Hampstead were devoid of Union Jacks, and many of their inhabitants had fled to their country cottages.

But NW3 was not wholly dead. In Primrose Gardens, which have not yet come up, about fifty children huddled together under a copper beech, eating sandwiches and playing games.

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Where in London will you find Shakespeare's country?

Little more than a stone's throw above Oxford Street, there is a place where Shakespeare himself would have felt quite at home.

A bustling, happy place, full of merriment and rejoicing, where each day strolling players perform in the village square. And tradesmen gather to display the finest wares in all of England.

The name of this place is Shakespeare's Country. And you'll find it high above London's busy streets, spread over half an acre or so of Selfridges fourth floor.

From a distance Shakespeare's Country seems little more than a pretty cluster of half timbered houses, small shops and spreading chestnut trees.

But having entered this Elizabethan hamlet, you soon find yourself in a colourful market square, bursting with activity and displaying every kind of ware imaginable. Across the square, not twenty yards of ale away, you can see the inviting outline of an olde inn. But we'll look into that later!

First, if the time is right, make your way to the centre of the hamlet, where everyday between 11.30 and 2.30 p.m. a small troupe of players entertain the crowd.

The Jubilee Players, as they are known, are as lively a troupe as you're ever likely to see. Their act is a medley of happy scenes and

sing-a-long sonnets. There are few tragedies in Shakespeare's Country.

So why not stop a while and enjoy the free show. After the performance, you'll probably feel it's time you played your own part in this merry assembly.

And what better place to do just that than the olde inn, where you're certain to find a warm welcome.

'The Elizabethan' Inn is a fine olde place.

A Charrington's house, that's as famous for its real ale as the jovial company it keeps.

There you will learn that the reason for this great and wonderful

gathering is the celebration of our noble Queen's Jubilee. So drink to that and whatever else takes your fancy.

From the courtyard of the Inn, you'll be able to look out on most of the market activity.

Displays of beautiful Wedgwood and Royal Doulton china. Stalls that sell finely crafted leatherware

and pottery. Shops with luxurious sheepskins. Tartans from north of the border. A bookshop. A souvenir shop. And even an olde English foodstore.

So, having soaked up the atmosphere, why not wander around and see what you can find. All in all, we think you'll

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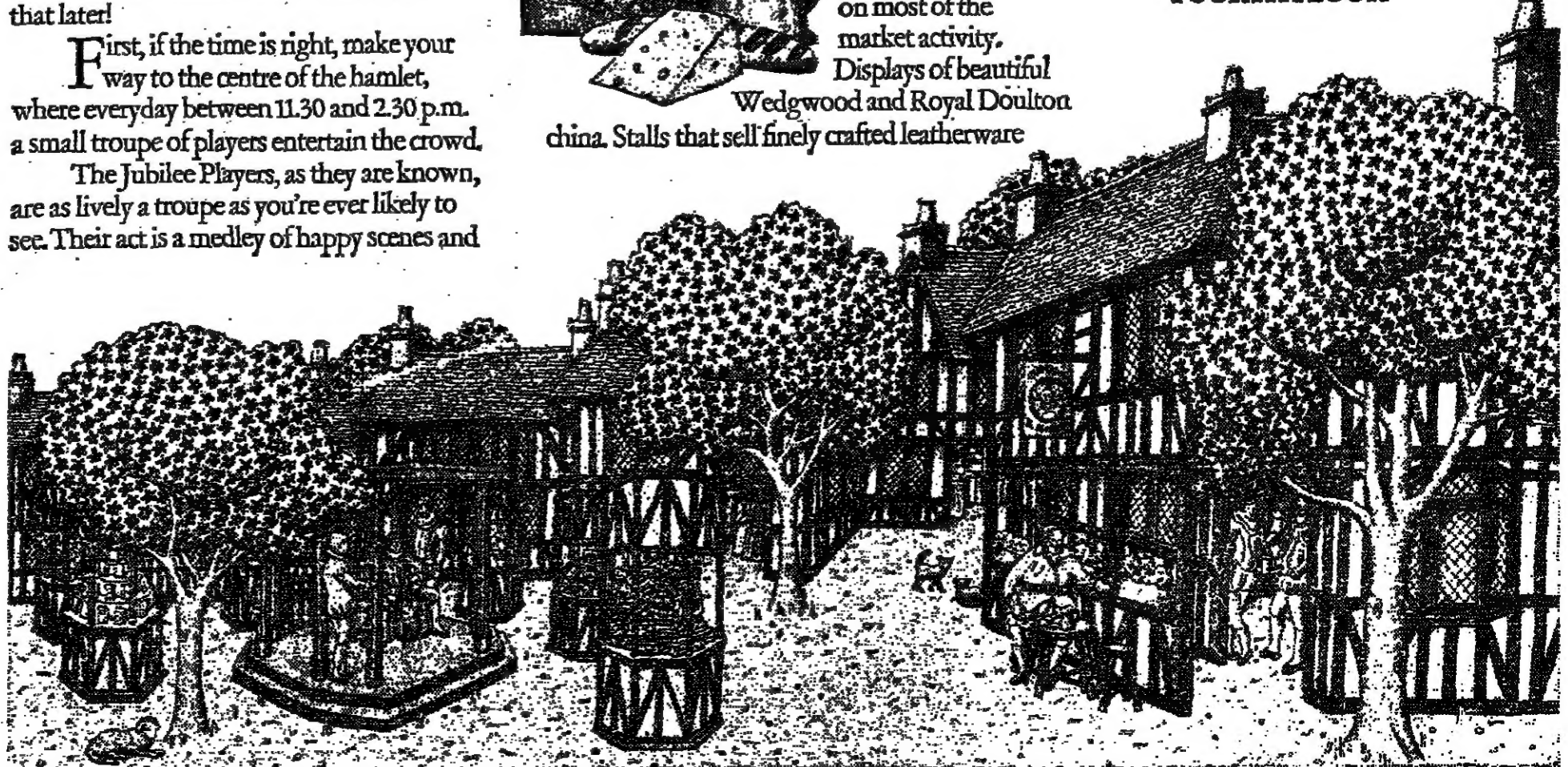


agree that Shakespeare's Country is well worth a visit. If only to celebrate the Jubilee of our beloved Queen, and ponder for a while on this Elizabethan hamlet in the middle of London, that time must inevitably change.

It closes at the end of the summer.

Selfridges

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SHAKESPEARE'S COUNTRY AT SELFRIDGES, 400 OXFORD STREET, LONDON W1 TELEPHONE 01-629 1234

BC has a potential television audience of about 500 million

indesor copes with double celebration

Jubilee Day working chapels (union office collectively decided on 24-hour stoppage from last night. Mr David

throughout the Commonwealth, and British listeners can hear the thanksgiving service in quadrophonic sound.

said the management's offer for jubilee holiday payments was agreed with the union's national officials without consulting the chapel.



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Chapel officials of the NGA said the management's offer for jubilee holiday payments was agreed with the union's national officials without consulting the chapel.

will be a six-night program at the government stadium from November 20 to 25, with Chinese and Western music and ballet.

However, Saturday night's banquet showed that there are still Englishmen good and true within these shores. There was traditional fare such as roast beef and Yorkshire pudding, loyal toasts were drunk and the

However, there could be no doubting that Colonel David Polley, military attaché at the British Embassy in Pretoria, who replied to the loyal roast,

against the Crown. The response was thunderous and almost unanimous, except, of course, from Colonel Polley and other members of the British Embassy present. They sat, good humoured but silent.

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The palaces Prince Philip calls 'the museums'

The Duke of Edinburgh, who has cultivated a talent or a foible for bluff naval directness, once said: "We live in what virtually amounts to a museum—which does not happen to a lot of people." As we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Queen's accession, it is instructive to consider the extraordinary buildings that make the Duke feel like a specimen (*Homo regalis*) in a museum. Our royal palaces and residences are some of the most historic buildings in Britain. Many are architectural glories; some are architectural jokes in bad taste.

The Queen has two principal official palaces in England, Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle; and one in Scotland, Holyroodhouse, the haunting and allegedly haunted palace of the Stuarts by Edinburgh. These great state buildings, among the most popular tourist attractions in the world, are the ones that make Prince Philip feel he is living in a display cabinet.

In addition the Queen owns two principal private houses, which look to commoners remarkably like palaces, or, if you prefer, museums: Balmoral Castle on Deeside, and Sandringham House near King's Lynn. The Queen also owns, but does not herself use, a number of smaller houses on her estates; for example Thatched House Lodge, Richmond, which she lends to the Ogilvies.

In addition there are a number of royal palaces that are now used for other purposes. The Palace of Westminster is now a museum for politicians, and recently, except for a small area reserved for the Queen at the State Opening, ceased to be a royal palace at all. Hampton Court really is a museum, as well as providing Green and Favour flats for meritorious public servants and their widows and families. Kensington Palace is the home of Princess Margaret and other members of the royal family and household, while William and Mary's state apartments, recently handsomely refurbished by the Queen and the Department of the Environment, are open to the public.

The Tower of London is the most visited museum in the kingdom. The Banqueting House, Whitehall, with its glorious Rubens ceiling, is the least visited and most underemployed public building in the kingdom. St James's Palace, the lowest nest that Henry VIII built for Anne Boleyn, is the residence of the Duke of Kent and the offices of the Lord Chamberlain and other departments of the monarchy business.

All of these, except Westminster, are still royal palaces. The Queen, for example, in theory could take up residence again in the White Tower, and every day enjoy the masterpiece of Norman ecclesiastical architecture, the Chapel Royal of St John on the second and third floors. All her ancestors until Charles II spent at least one night, the eves of their coronations, there. Several spent much of their lives and met their deaths there. In practice the Tower has too many dark memories of decapitated and imprisoned royals and too big an attraction for the tourists for it ever to become a royal residence again.

Because of its central position and size, Buckingham Palace has been the monarch's head office and working palace for the past 150 years. But by the crazy paradox enjoyed by ancient English institutions, St James's is for some purposes still the official palace: for instance, foreign ambassadors are still formally accredited to the Court of St James, although it has been abandoned as a royal residence since Victoria came to the throne. Buckingham Palace takes its name from a Jacobite politician and minor poet of the seventeenth century, who built himself the finest private palace in London on the site. George III bought it as a private domestic retreat, away from the pomp of St James's, for Queen Caroline in the countryside that has since become Green Park.

There is a curious regular pattern in the evolution of royal palaces. A private palace is built as a retreat from the official palace. In time it becomes the official palace, and another private palace is built which later still replaces it as the official palace. This happened to Whitehall, St James's, Hampton Court, Kensington and Buckingham Palace.

John Nash rebuilt Buckingham Palace at prodigious expense for George IV, that great builder-king. Nash's building formed three sides of a square, with the eastern fourth side nearest to the Mall left open. The main entrance was through the Marble Arch, a memorial to the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo. Victoria surprisingly found the large palace too small for her admiring family. So the Marble Arch was removed to its present position as traffic roundabout and symbol for a station on the Underground. And a fourth, slab-faced wing, which is the only face of the palace that is fully visible to the public, was built to complete the square. It is grandiose, ugly in its own right, and obscures Nash's far finer building.

To see Nash's wings, you either have to peer from the top of a bus going up Constitution Hill, or get yourself invited to one of the Queen's garden parties. She holds three a year in June and July, to each of which about 8,000 people are invited. Invitations are given either directly by the Palace, or on the recommendation of public officials and institutions. It is rumoured, let us hope without truth, that rascally scalpers offer invitations for sale at exorbitant prices to tourists. If you do get in, do not miss the most luxurious 12-seater mobile lavatory in the world, with hot and cold running water and running funkies, discreetly hidden behind the rhododendrons. And do not steal the crockery as a souvenir, as many do. It is not the Queen's tea cup, but Joe Lyon's. When she is in London, the Queen spends weekdays at Buckingham Palace.

She spends most weekends, and a month in the summer for Ascot, at Windsor Castle, her country home, and in recent years has been spending more time at Windsor than formerly. Unlike her town palace, Windsor Castle looks like a royal palace out of the romances ought to look, by Malory out of Arthur Rackham. But do not be misled by its distant spires, its antique towers, and that great round tower looming over the Thames. Most of them were put there by Wyatt for George IV in another of George's spectacular fits of architectural megalomania. Presumably Wyatt put in the portcullis and Hollywood machicolations and battlements so that the king could pour boiling oil down on parliamentary critics Willie Hamilton on about his extravagance. In George's days they were numerous.

Wyatt asked George for permission to change his name to Wyattville, which seemed to him less common for the royal architect. George replied engagingly: "Veal or mutton, call yourself what you like."

Although the façade of Windsor is slightly bogus, it is a splendid palace, and much of it is genuinely old. William the Conqueror built the central mound and the first wooden Round Tower as part of a ring of fortresses that encircled London and dominated his reluctant new kingdom. His descendants, notably Henry II and III, turned it to stone, and added the surrounding walls, wards, and towers. Edward IV built St George's Chapel, the supreme masterpiece of English Perpendicular, which has become a central shrine of the monarchy, and so of the idea of English nationhood.

Windsor does not show its age of 900 sometimes turbulent sometimes forgotten years, partly because of Wyatt's nineteenth century Gothic Revival, and partly because it is built of a grey crystalline silicate stone that is washed as clean as new by every shower. Its red letter day is the Garter Service in June, when the Queen and her family and Knights of the Garter walk in procession to St George's. The Order was founded by Edward III as a brotherhood of young men dedicated to Arthurian idealism, jousting, feasting, and what men call gallantry and gods adultery. The elderly retired public figures who have taken the place of the young braves look as if they are past all those activities, incongruous but quaint in flowing mantles and hats with ostrich plumes. The lower ward and state apartments are open to the public for most of the year. There are fine walks and splendid vistas in the Great Park, past the Queen's magnificently run home farm, and down the Long Mile to the Copper Horse (a gigantic equestrian statue of George III, who loved Windsor and acquired his nickname of Farmer George for his diligence on his estates there).

The Queen spends up to six weeks in the late summer at Balmoral Castle on the upper Dees. In strict constitutional doctrine the monarch cannot take a holiday. The red boxes, the Privy Counsellors and the other formal duties of the head of state accompany her everywhere she goes. But Balmoral is as near as she gets to a holiday. For that reason it is a favourite home of the Queen's, as it was of her great-grandmother.

Victoria loved it above all retreats, because of the sacred memories of Albert, and because of John Brown and the other Highlanders, who treated her without servility as a neighbour.

The Queen has her Scottish home at Balmoral by pure accident, for no better reason than that the summer of 1847 was foul. Victoria and Albert, already in love with the Highlands, which reminded them rather oddly of Albert's native Thuringen, suffered from torrential storms, sea sickness, and midgets on a house-hunting cruise up the west coast of Scotland. On the advice of their doctor, a fresh air cure, they settled on the east coast, which is more bracing, less picturesque. They bought Balmoral Estate.

In 1852 an eccentric miser called Nield left Victoria a quarter of a million pounds in his will. She deduced in her diary that he had done so because he knew she would not waste the money. She used some of it to build the present Balmoral Castle in the Neo-Baronial, Scots-wha-hae style, multi-turreted, with the hint of arches behind the battlements and clansmen with claymores in the shrubbery. Albert, naturally, had a considerable hand in the architecture and interior decoration, which suffers from a bilious epidemic of tartanitis.

The widowed queen was responsible for the lugubrious atmosphere of Balmoral, which came to be known as Balmorality for its dullness and primness. Her love for her Highland home, though not the stuffiness of her later years there, appear to have been inherited by her subsequent descendants. You cannot visit Balmoral unless you are a house guest of the Queen, a Privy Counsellor on business, or a member of a Scottish regiment acting as royal guard and besters of grouse for the zups.

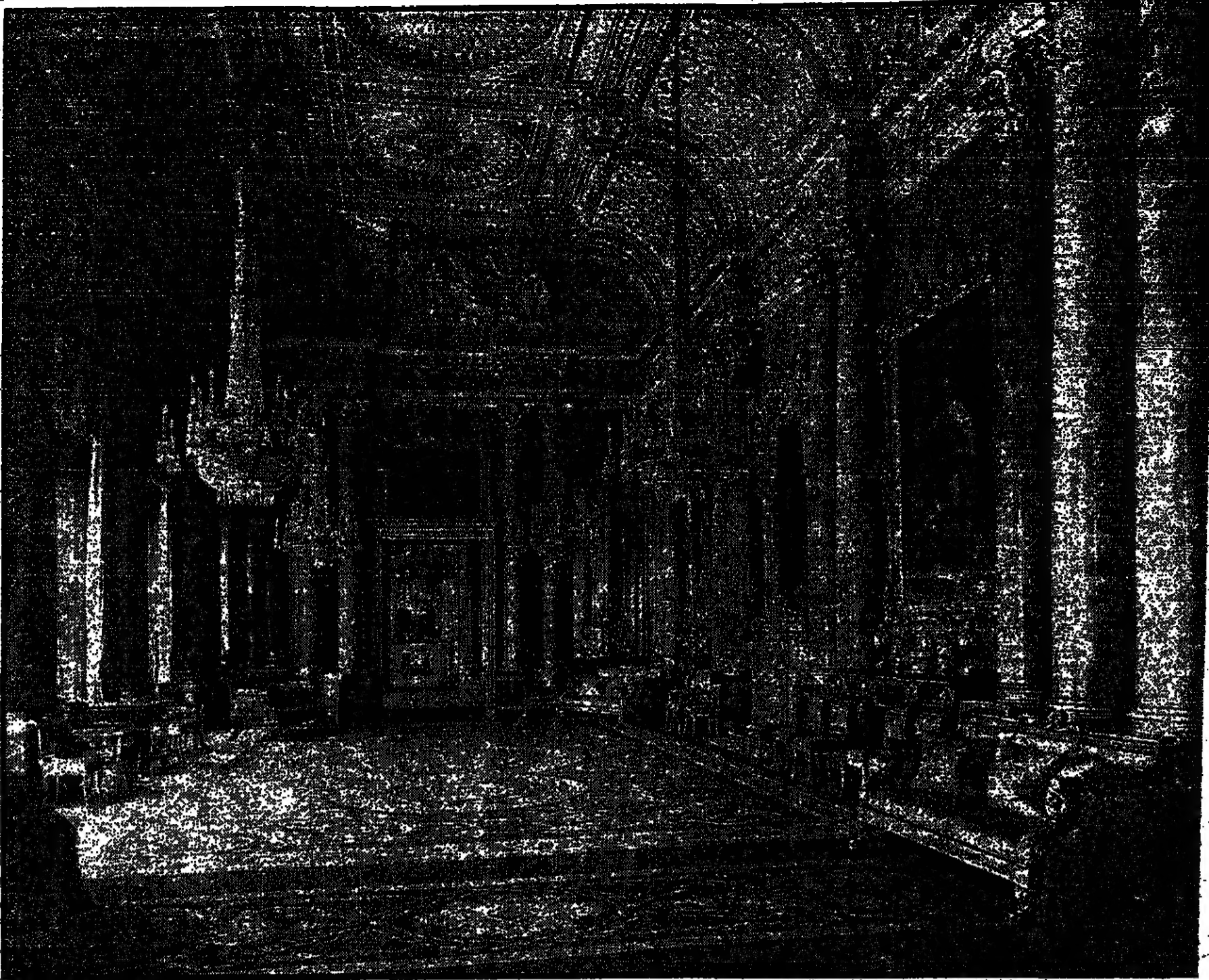
Just before he died Albert used the Prince of Wales's income from the Duchy of Cornwall to buy his eldest son Sandringham House in Norfolk. It was rebuilt as a solid, unpretentious, red-brick mansion in a style that is best known as 1870 Tudor. It became Edward's favourite country house, famous for its shooting, its gaudy nights, and its brilliant and sometimes slightly flash house parties.

Edward VIII disliked Sandringham, which he described as the stronghold where his father had waged his private war with the twentieth century. By contrast George VI liked playing the country squire, and was a passionate and dead-eyed shot of anything wearing feather or fur that moved and could legally and sportingly be shot at. Under him the tradition grew up that the royal family spent the Christmas holidays at Sandringham. This tradition has recently been modified. Christmas Day now tends to be spent at Windsor, and the Queen then goes to Sandringham for New Year. The house needs to be extensively repaired and modernized, having been built for the days of an Edwardian household above and below stairs. But the economic depression and royal sensitivity to accusations of extravagance have postponed the work, and may have caused it to be abandoned. Parts of the house have just been opened to the public in the summer.

When in Scotland, the Queen understandably prefers to get away from it all to Balmoral. But her official palace at Queen of Scotland is Holyroodhouse, the sinister old pile where Rizzio and others met bloody ends. Charles II built most of the palace as it exists today, erecting a twin tower to balance the original medieval twin tower, and linking them with three sides of a square of Palladian wings, rising to a classical climax of Doric, Ionic and Corinthian pilasters. The Queen stays at Holyrood for about a week a year in the summer, and holds her Scottish garden party while she is there. Visiting heads of state have recently started using it as their historic but not very comfortable hotel while they see Scotland.

It can therefore be concluded that the Queen has no shortage of houses to lay her head in. However, she has far fewer than all but her immediate predecessors. Palace-building and fashion-setting used to be royal functions. And the medieval monarchs and the Tudors and Stuarts had castles spread over the land for strategic and economic reasons; to hold the kingdom, and to eat up the feudal rents, which were mostly paid in kind, by travelling from castle to castle on perpetual chevachee. The monarch's function today has evolved to be symbol of national unity and figurehead of the constitutional machine. So, as the Duke of Edinburgh correctly observed, most of the palaces have become national museums as well as private houses.

Philip Howard



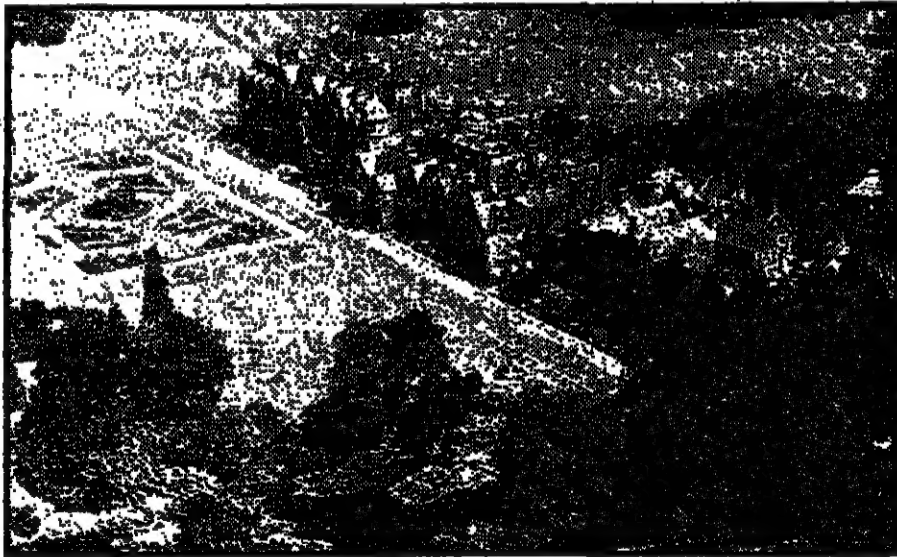
BUCKINGHAM PALACE—THE HEAD OFFICE.



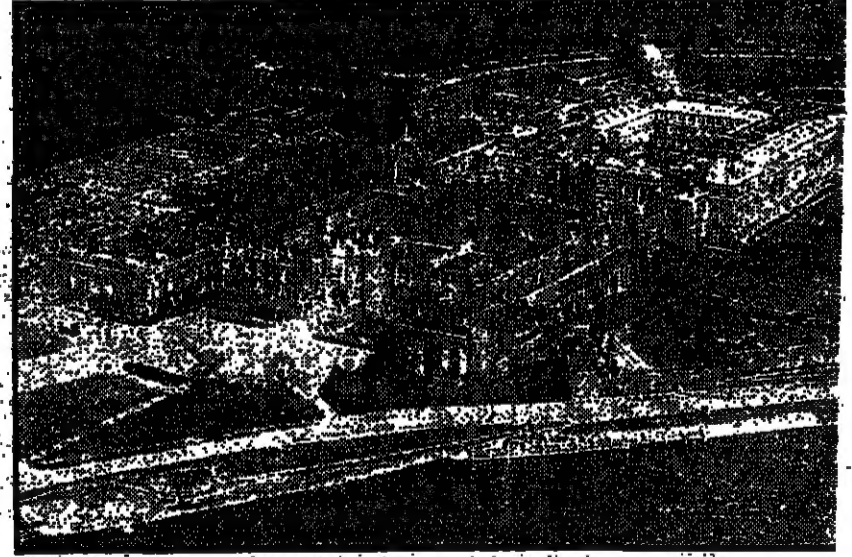
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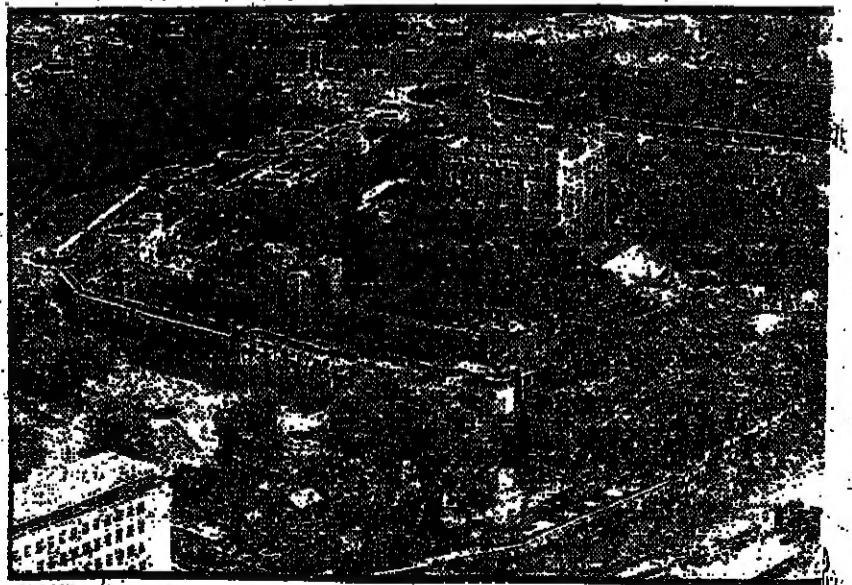
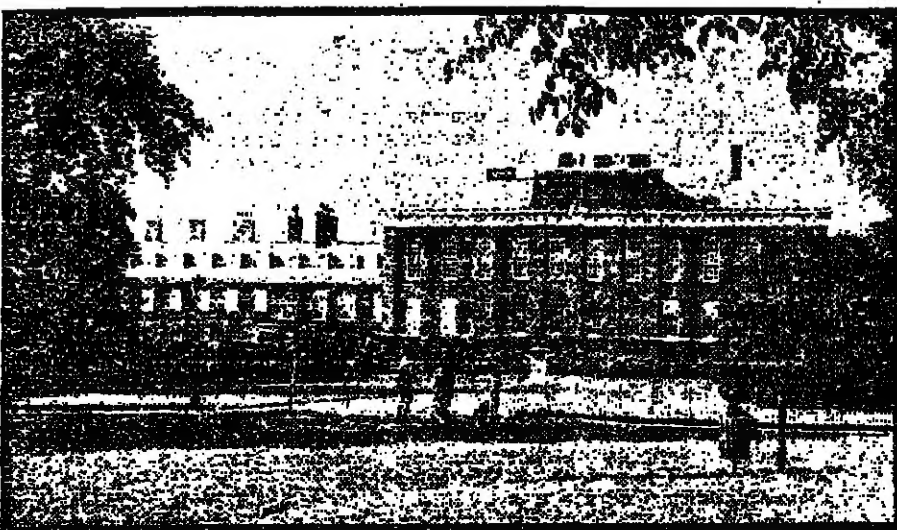
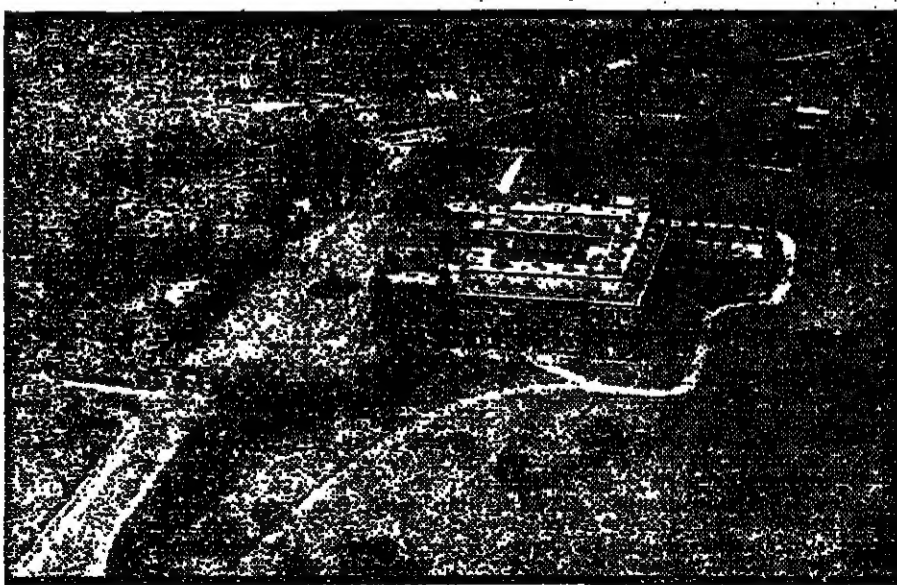
BALMORAL: THE QUEEN'S FAVOURITE.



SANDRINGHAM: PUTTING CLOCKS ON.



HAMPTON COURT: GRACE AND FAVOUR



ABOVE LEFT: HOLYROODHOUSE

ABOVE: TOWER OF LONDON

EXTREME LEFT: KENSINGTON PALACE

LEFT: THE BANQUETING HOUSE, WHITEHALL

هكرا من النجلى

WEST EUROPE

Editor of 'Le Figaro' steps down after dispute with proprietor

From Charles Hargrove

Paris, June 6

France's leading conservative newspaper, *Le Figaro*, is going through one of the most severe crises in its long history. M. Jean d'Ormesson, the Editor-in-Chief, resigned today. His resignation followed that of M. Raymond Aron, the well-known sociologist and the paper's political director, last week in protest against what he called the authoritarian methods of the chief proprietor, M. Robert Hersant.

Both men explained their reasons for resigning today. M. Aron in an interview with the weekly news magazine *Le Point*, and M. d'Ormesson in a leading article in today's issue of the newspaper. Both emphasized that they were leaving not out of political disagreement with M. Hersant who bought a controlling share in *Le Figaro* in June 1975, but because of differences of opinion about the exercise of authority in the newspaper. M. d'Ormesson will reply to M. Hersant in tomorrow's issue.

M. d'Ormesson was unanimously elected chairman of the board of control of *Le Figaro* in 1974. In 1975, after M. Hersant's takeover, he became its Editor-in-Chief. In his leading article today he paid tribute to M. Hersant for never exercising the least pressure on himself or on the paper's journalists. He had been, in his respect, "perfectly liberal".

But he criticized "the irritating question of the direct participation of the chief proprietor in the editing of the newspaper, in the form of editorial articles". This, together with appointments to leading positions and dismissals over which he had no say, had led M. d'Ormesson to conclude that "the exclusive authority which

had been given him over the editorial side, ran the risk of being whittled away to the point where it became a mere fiction".

These considerations led him to the conclusion that he was no longer in a position effectively to direct the paper.

M. Aron was more blunt. He said the point at issue was the unacceptable character of the amalgamation of M. Hersant's roles as chief proprietor and as political director.

That the owner of a press group should exercise an influence on the newspapers which belong to him goes without saying. But that the same person should want to be chief proprietor, manager of a group, political director of the main newspaper in its leader writer and a candidate for election to Parliament (M. Hersant is deputy for the Oise), this amalgamation of different functions in the same person seems to me unacceptable in the France of today.

M. Aron said he was rather attracted by M. Hersant. "He struck me as a dynamic and enterprising man, with a certain charm. Rightly or wrongly, I felt he had in him the stuff of an entrepreneur and, frankly, that was what the paper needed most."

But as time went on, he observed that if M. Hersant had improved the finances of *Le Figaro*, he had not restored to the editorial staff either its confidence or its drive. It transpires clearly from both M. d'Ormesson's and M. Aron's statements that, with the coming parliamentary elections, M. Hersant was determined to play an increasingly active role in the political direction of the newspaper.

Kidnappers threaten to kill Fiat executive

Paris, June 6.—A revolutionary group has threatened to execute on Saturday a senior Fiat car company executive who was kidnapped here in April unless the Italian firm meets its demands, a Paris newspaper reported today.

Le Monde said that it had received the threat from the Committee for Revolutionary Socialist Unity (CURS) saying that Signor Luciano Revelli-Beaumont, the head of Fiat in France, would be executed after midnight on Friday.

A communiqué, containing errors of grammar and spelling, did not give details of the demands, but said that they had been already presented.

Le Monde said that the communiqué was received this morning in an envelope postmarked in Paris and accompanied by a photograph of Signor Revelli-Beaumont.

He was seized on April 13 outside his Paris home by four armed men.

The communiqué published today said that a tribunal had also condemned three other Fiat executives to death.

The death sentence on Signor Revelli-Beaumont "will be suspended only after acceptance by the company—in an unconditional and non-responsible manner—of the demands which our organization communicated after the first verdict of our tribunal", it declared.

A group calling itself the Committee for the Defence of Italian Workers in France demanded 3m francs (£330,000) for the executive's release. The demand was made shortly after his abduction. But police did not believe that this claim was serious.

In today's photograph, Signor Revelli-Beaumont appeared clean-shaven and wearing collar and tie. Earlier pictures to Paris newspapers showed him with a grey beard and dressed in a white vest.

In Turin, a Fiat company spokesman said that the company's top executives were under guard. He declined to comment on the death threat against Signor Revelli-Beaumont.—Reuters.



Mrs. Nelleke Ellenbroek-Prinsen (left) and Mrs. Annie Brouwer-Korf, released on Sunday from the Dutch train hijacked by South Moluccans, at a news conference in a Groningen hospital.

Portuguese Communists offer their solution

From Jose Shiercliff

Lisbon, June 6

The Portuguese Communist Party has offered its help in overcoming the country's economic crisis on the basis of a "platform" that will ensure economic recovery, consolidation of political liberties and of national independence.

Dr. Alvaro Cunhal, secretary-general of the party, who is considered a hard-line Stalinist, said at the end of a weekend party conference: "The Portuguese Communist Party is ready to assume its responsibilities and to mobilize its entire energies to ensure economic cooperation, always with the workers, always with the people."

The Communists have been pressing the ruling Socialist

Party for some time for a share in government. Dr. Mario Soares, the Prime Minister, however, has resisted both items and the two main anti-communist parties, the centre-right Social Democrats and the conservative Centre Democrats, who have tried to draw him into alliance with them.

Summing up the detailed conclusions of the conference, Dr. Cunhal said the economic and financial situation was deteriorating because of the revival of capitalism. Dangerous political and social tensions were being created.

Economic recovery was possible on the basis of nationalization, land reform, workers' control and of diversifying existing economic structures. The restoration of a mono-

polist capitalism must be prevented by the people. Dr. Cunhal said the aim of his party's programme was reduction of imports, increase of exports, economy of resources, national production of goods, now imported, expansion of the home market and stimulation of the inflow of resources from abroad.

The revival of capitalism was causing stagnation in national production, a "brutal" worsening of living conditions for the workers, deterioration of the trade balance and progressive exhaustion of the country's monetary reserves.

Meanwhile Dr. Soares made two optimistic political pronouncements. Opening the national capital and agricultural fair in Santarém in Ribatejo he

said: "Contrary to some prospects of doom I consider we are 'recovering'." He forecast a better farming year than the last one.

In Beja, the capital of Alentejo, he claimed that his party was "the mediator of Portuguese society" and that where the Socialist party is dominant "nobody complains about lack of liberty". He accused the Communists of humiliating the local workers and perpetrating their suggestions that his government is peddling capitalist recuperation.

His government, he said, was achieving results. Hotels were full and emigrants were once again sending money home. The building trade was booming. All this allowed the newest confidence.

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Glassworker dies after shots fired at pickets

From Our Own Correspondent

Paris, June 6

M. Pierre Maitre, aged 31, one of the three workers from the Verrieres Mécaniques Champenoises glass firm at Rheims, who were shot yesterday morning while taking part in a strike picket, outside the plant, died of his injuries this morning.

Five men were in the car from which the shots were fired. One has given himself up to the police and the other four have been arrested. All are employees of the Clerdes works in Rheims and members of the Confédération Française du Travail (CFT), a small, right-wing trade union organization which has been refused national recognition.

Its main stronghold is in the motor industry and it is dominant in the Citroën and Chrysler works, especially at Rheims. M. Christian Bédier, the Minister of Labour, said in a statement on the shooting that "the Government condemned to the firmest manner such criminal acts. Refrains to violence is a duty of our society. It starts a process which can only lead to the worst."

The CFT also condemned the deed and said that it was "no way identified with such irresponsible action for which trade unionism was only an alibi. It will take all necessary steps against its authors, if it is confirmed that they are members of the CFT."

The fact that the men implicated in the shooting are all associated with the CFT, which describes itself as "nationalist" and is regarded by other trade unions as a "blacklist" organization with a disturbing record of violence is bound to increase labour tension in plants like Citroën.

Paris, June 6.—France's two biggest trade unions, the communist-led Confédération Générale du Travail and the left-wing Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail, have called on the nation to stop work for a week to show its solidarity with the workers of the dead man.—Reuters.

Why Rome nobility backs rebel prelate

From Peter Nichols

Rome, June 6

Mgr Marcel Lefebvre, the traditionalist French prelate suspended a divinis by the Pope, said here tonight that his choice was made: "I do not," he said, "want to die a Protestant."

He was addressing an invited audience of Roman nobility in the throne room of the Princess Pallavicini's palace and sat beneath the sceptre and gold arms of Pope Clement VII. Much of his hour-and-a-quarter speech was good humoured but the essential point was clear enough.

He felt that the Roman Catholic Church had fundamentally changed in the past 20 years and he could not accept it. The definition of the Church had changed. There was now no mention of its visible, hierarchical structure.

The Mass was no longer a sacrifice, there were no collective absolutions: "Soon," Mgr Lefebvre said, to his first loud round of applause, "we shall have collective Extreme Unction."

Changes had taken place in the Catholic religion to please members of other religions. "I am not for plurality in religious matters," he said, to more applause.

Why have missions, he asked, if there was a pluralism of the truth? Why bother to have a Catholic sect when there were hundreds of other sects already in existence? The work of the Catholic missions had been destroyed. The Catholic Church was the only true faith because Christ had founded it. He believed in our baptism; not in our more.

Mgr Lefebvre produced a list what he regarded as scandalous: there was a chapel put for Muslim worship in the cathedral, and there

would have been one in Marseille if the faithful had not stopped it. The archbishop there blessed engaged couples who said they were not yet ready to face marriage. Papal nuncios were pressing for the removal of constitutional articles granting a privileged position for the Catholic faith.

He recounted his private meeting with the Pope here last September. The Pope reproved him for talking too much. He said to the Pope: "I am the head of the traditionalists as you have called me. I never wanted to form any group or association. My dream is to make good and holy priests."

"I am one of the traditionalists, or perhaps millions, who are saying 'Stop, stop, the comedy, the modernisation. Our Catholic religion will end if we go on like this. Leave things to tradition.'"

The semi-comic posturings of the Rome nobility elicited by the presence of Mgr Lefebvre in the Eternal City, can in any way hide the real strength of the traditionalist movement.

The Roman nobility has old scores to settle with the Pope. When, as Mgr Montini, he was an official in the Vatican Secretariat of State he was regarded by the nobility as a dangerous, left-winger. It is, however, not very difficult to gain such a reputation here as many of the noble families remain anchored in political philosophies of the extreme right.

But the roots of his past clashes were deeper than his undoubtedly tender social conscience which, to some extent, he managed to maintain after his election to the papacy. The mysterious circumstances in which he was sent away from the Vatican in 1954 by Pope Pius XII were probably not unconnected with this dislike he felt even then for the Roman nobility.

,000 Britons attend Dunkirk ceremony

De Panne, Belgium, June 6.—About 3,000 British veterans attended an Allied relling ceremony of a moral monument for the 1940 exodus to the sound bagpipes.

Belgian troops and French veterans had joined in the celebrations commemorating the evacuation of 4218 British soldiers from the beach of De Panne, about 10 miles from Dunkirk.

Editors from 33 states attend Oslo assembly

Oslo, June 6.—Mr Nordli, the Norwegian Prime Minister, opened the annual assembly of the International Press Institute (IPI) here today.

He reminded some 300 editors and publishers from 33 countries attending the assembly that freedom of the press represented "a significant part of our democracy." He spoke with regret about the scarcity of newspapers in parts of the Third World.—AP.

Last two Basques choose exile instead of prison

Sam Chislett

June 6

Basque Government into voluntary exile. Basque prisoners of violence, including the Basque leader Iñaki de la Sena, have been sentenced to prison or death in a court.

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ETA members were executed the head at the time of his arrest and as a result is a mental defective.

Apparently undeterred by the wave of bomb attacks and the fatal shooting of two policemen over the weekend, the Government is pressing ahead with its policy of sending Basque prisoners into voluntary exile in the hope that the ETA will call a truce. The remaining ETA prisoners, about 16, are awaiting trial.

Madrid, June 6.—A new wave of bombings shook the Basque region today. Bombs damaged a San Sebastian restaurant, a furniture store in Portugalete, near Bilbao, and a television relay station outside Sanjurjo. Another bomb was discovered on a road in a Bilbao suburb.—Reuters.

PETER STUYVESANT



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OVERSEAS



More representatives arrived in London yesterday for the Commonwealth conference which opens tomorrow. From left: Vice-President Moi of Kenya; Mr. Gairy, Grenada Prime Minister, and Mr. Muldoon, New Zealand Prime Minister, greeted by Mrs. Hart, Minister for Overseas Development; Mr. Trudeau, Canadian Prime Minister; Mr. Manley, Jamaican Prime Minister.

China turns state visit by Sudan leader into attack on Soviet strategy in Africa

Peking, June 6.—China today turned a state visit by President Nimeiry of Sudan into a fierce attack on Soviet strategy in Africa.

The President received a red carpet reception at Peking Airport, where he was met by an unusually large delegation headed by Chairman Hua Kue-feng.

Cuban diplomats boycotted the arrival ceremony and Soviet and East European nations were represented by councilors instead of ambassadors.

Ignoring the recent Russian protest about anti-Soviet propaganda, the People's Daily praised Sudan for smashing "Soviet subversive plots".

Peking made no secret of its jubilation over Sudan's expulsion of 90 Soviet military experts last month and its request for a reduction in the size of

the Soviet embassy in Khartoum. Relations between the Soviet Union and Sudan have been deteriorating since an abortive coup last July against President Nimeiry's Government.

Yesterday Tass accused Sudan and "imperialist and reactionary forces" of preparing aggression against Ethiopia, with which Moscow has been strengthening its ties recently.

"This is playing with fire, and a heavy responsibility before the peoples of Africa and the whole world rests on those who are thus playing", it said.

Today's People's Daily leading article also praised Egypt for abrogating its friendship and cooperation treaty with Moscow and Zaire for scoring an all-round victory in counter-attacking the Soviet-backed invading mercenaries.

"The vicious feature of Soviet-social imperialism is becoming more and more exposed before the African and Arab people", it said.

Conspiracy allegation: The Sudan Foreign Ministry today accused the Soviet Union of planning a new conspiracy against Sudan "which may come in the form of a naked and direct intervention from outside the continent".

The ministry statement, carried by Omdurman radio in a broadcast monitored in London, denied Soviet allegations that Sudan was preparing a military attack on Ethiopia.

It said yesterday's Tass statement "smells to us of a new conspiracy planned by the Soviet Union against our country".

It added: "The statement is nothing more than a prepara-

tion for that conspiracy, which may come in the form of a naked and direct intervention from outside the continent or in the form of an increased commitment of arms to flow to the regime of Addis Ababa, perhaps to save it from the dark destiny awaiting it at the hands of the Ethiopian revolutionaries and militiamen."

Meanwhile, Ethiopia accused Sudan of massing troops along its western border in an attempt to create tension and a state of conflict with Ethiopia.

The official Ethiopian news agency, in a message telegraphed to Reuters in London, quoted a spokesman for the Ministry of Information and National Guidance as saying that Sudan had increased its troop build-up on the border during the past few days in a "clear act of provocation".—Reuters.

Commandos seize hijacker in wheelchair

Kuwait, June 6.—Security officials today questioned a 27-year-old Lebanese cripple who hijacked a Middle East Airlines Boeing 707 and demanded a ransom of 1.5m Kuwaiti dinars (53m) before being overpowered by commandos on board the airliner here.

The 105 passengers and 10 crew were freed uninjured. The hijacker, who boarded the aircraft in Beirut in a wheelchair, shot at the commandos when they tracked him down today but was seized before anybody was hurt.

He had taken over the airliner in mid-flight as it was heading to Baghdad from Beirut. Brandishing a pistol and a hand grenade, he forced the pilot to fly here.

The passengers, mainly Arabs but including several British and American businessmen, today flew on to Baghdad in another aircraft as the MRA Boeing was damaged in the shooting.

The hijacker, identified as Mr. Nasser Muhammad Ali Abu Khalid, demanded that the ransom be paid in equal shares by Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, according to a statement by Sheikh Saad al-Abdullah al-Sabah, the Kuwaiti Defence and Interior Minister.

The minister said he refused the hijacker's demand during seven hours of negotiations at Kuwait International Airport, and then ordered the commandos to move in.—Reuters.

Tito journey to Peking step to repair links

Belgrade, June 6.—President Tito of Yugoslavia will pay his first official visit to China this year, highly-placed sources said here today. He has told Signor Arnaldo Forlani, the visiting Italian Foreign Minister, that he will visit Peking after talks in the Soviet Union and North Korea.

The sources, close to Signor Forlani, said the President planned to visit the Soviet Union in mid-August for several days' discussions with Mr. Brezhnev, the Communist Party chief. He would then go on to Pyongyang to see President Kim Il Sung before conferring with Chinese leaders, including Chairman Hua Kuo-feng.

The Yugoslav and Chinese Communist parties do not at present have any formal relations, although ties at Government, economic and cultural levels have steadily improved in recent years.

While confirming privately that President Tito plans the three-nation tour, officials here declined to comment.

However, the invitation was made long ago—seven before the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, with whom a meeting was then envisaged. It was repeated last month when Mr. Sai Pa-dia, vice-chairman of the Chinese People's Assembly, visited Belgrade.

Marshal Tito will go to China as head of state, Yugoslav sources emphasized and not as Communist Party chief. Relations between the Chinese and Yugoslav Communist Parties

have long been blocked by ideological differences. It was violent attacks by Peking against Yugoslavia's "modern revisionism" that caused the freeze in bilateral relations 11 years ago.

Since then there was a slight improvement in 1969, when Peking and Belgrade decided to renew their diplomatic relations at ambassador level, and again in 1971 when the Yugoslav Foreign Minister visited Peking.

The weekly news magazine *Nin* explained at the time that the reevaluation of Yugoslav and Chinese foreign policies resulted from the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the Sino-Soviet clashes on the Ussuri river in March 1969.

Plans for the Peking visit suggest that the 55-year-old President has apparently completely regained his health after an attack of hepatitis last year. This forced him to ease up on his work.

Meanwhile, authoritative sources here said after the meeting today with Signor Forlani that the talks were satisfactory with new possibilities of collaboration and rapprochement between the two neighbours.

The meeting resulted in a concrete contribution to the application of the final act of the Helsinki agreement. The Yugoslav leader and Signor Forlani also discussed present-day international issues, including the crisis in the Middle East and Southern Africa.—Reuters and Agence France-Presse.

In brief

Tribal revolt is ending

Kobakma, Indonesia, June 6.—Tribal violence which led to an organized revolt against Indonesian rule in this remote province of Irian Jaya, form West New Guinea, appears to be subsiding.

According to the Indonesian authorities, 80 primitive tribesmen have surrendered and pledged loyalty to the Government. They said to be the latest of 2,000 tribesmen to surrender.

Leap into volcano

Saint Denis, Reunion Isl June 6.—A honeymooning 1 man, Mr. Philip Ryan, fell to his death in a volcano on this Indian Ocean island Friday night. A fence vaulted was not around the holiday cottage but around the volcano.

Nurse accused

Bangkok, June 6.—The criminal court today passed a harrowing sentence in a case involving a British nurse, Miss Nightingale, aged 23, Blackburn, Lancashire, July 12 to give the defendant more time to seek additional evidence. She pleads not guilty.

Volunteer projects

Bangkok, June 6.—I volunteer defence project tended to counter communist infiltration have been launched in "sensitive" provinces Thailand.

Men overboard

Bangkok, June 6.—More 10 Thai fishermen were said after they jumped into the following a pirate attack in the Gulf of Thailand, near Chian waters.

Water pact

Tehran, June 6.—Iran Afghanistan have agreed sharing of the waters of Helmand river which crosses their border. The pact ends a long dispute.

Plane spotters back

The five British aircraft spotters, who were jailed in for violating security regulations, were reunited with families when they flew Gatwick airport last night.

Monsoon late

Singapore, June 6.—The monsoon is late this year in east Asia. People are being to have a shower rather than a downpour, and air-conditioners are switched off to save electricity and water is being rationed.

Expedition to N Pole abandoned

Thule, Greenland, June 6.—A British polar expedition led by Sir Ranulph Fiennes abandoned at this North Greenland town after failing to reach the North Pole because of technical and ice problems.

The four men in the team, who left a base camp on Ellesmere Island in the Canadian far north in late February, planned to complete the 1,750 miles round trip to the pole in three months.

Sir Ranulph's wife, Lady Virginia, and Miss Mary Gibbs, the expedition's second woman, remained on Ellesmere Island when the men set off with motorbikes, dog teams and partly on foot.

They told local officials here that they met constant problems, particularly with the motorbikes, which required regular repairs and spare parts dropped by air. This slowed the expedition down and when they ran into difficult ice conditions at the time they were due to have been at the North Pole they decided to abandon the attempt.

The expedition, sponsored by Scandinavian Airlines System to mark its twentieth anniversary, was also backed by the British Museum, the Greenwich Observatory and the Meteorological Office.

The team members are expected to fly back to Copenhagen on Wednesday.—Reuters.

Presidential summons for Mr Beigin

Tel Aviv, June 6.—President Ephraim Katzir of Israel has summoned Mr. Menachem Beigin, the Likud Party leader, to a meeting tomorrow to ask him to form a new government, the President's office announced today.

Under the law, Mr. Beigin, whose party won more parliamentary seats than any other party in last month's general election, would then have 21 days to form a government and could request a further 21 days if necessary.

The announcement was made after statements by political pundits that Mr. Beigin had issued a near-ultimatum to the reformist Democratic Movement for Change (DMC) to make up its mind quickly about joining a coalition led by him.

The sources said that Mr. Beigin, who wanted to form a new government, was assured of a parliamentary majority with or without the DMC, since he already had the support of the religious parties. Likud and DMC representatives are due to hold more negotiations tomorrow, but Likud is unlikely to change its position that the occupied West Bank of Jordan is an integral part of Israel, the sources added.

Rigilim, Lebanon, June 6.—Rightist, gunmen and Israeli border forces shelled villages in the Nabatiyah area of southern Lebanon overnight until early today, local residents said, causing severe damage to plantations in the area.

The main road between Sidon and Tyre was cut today because of fresh clashes between rival Palestinian factions.

At least five men were killed and 10 wounded in the past 24 hours, according to some reports.—Reuters.

Rhodesia's main rail line blown up by guerrillas

Salisbury, June 6.—Black nationalist guerrillas today blew up Rhodesia's main railway line, only two days after wrecking the pylons which carry electric power lines to Salisbury.

A spokesman for Rhodesian railways said that the line was out of action for seven hours while the tracks were repaired. There was no damage to trains or passengers, a communiqué stated.

The line through the central Rhodesian mining district carries chrome, tobacco, copper, maize, cotton and meat exported through South Africa in defiance of United Nations trade sanctions imposed on the rebel British colony. It is also used for importing consumer goods.

Military headquarters said that explosives were detonated between the small towns of Que Que and Gutu on the main track running between Salisbury and Bulawayo, the second largest city.

Two black civilians were shot dead by guerrillas who attacked a crowded supermarket in the Magwegwe township in Bulawayo yesterday, an official communiqué said. It alleged that a group of armed men fired indiscriminately into the supermarket, killing a female customer. The town is some 220 miles south-west of here.

"An African assistant manager ran from the building and was gunned down", the communiqué said. "He died shortly afterwards."

The statement said that later in the day, a bus in the same area came under small arms fire, but no one was injured.—Reuters.

Washington, June 6.—The United States has informed South Korea and Japan that it intends to withdraw about 6,000 American ground troops from South Korea by the end of next year, in the first phase of President Carter's withdrawal programme, administration officials said yesterday.

They said that the initial timetable was conveyed to Korean and Japanese officials by Mr. Philip Habib, Under-Secretary of State for International Affairs, and General George Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on their visit to the area last month.

The first word about the precise timing of the withdrawal was disclosed by the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation yesterday in Tokyo.—New York Times News Service.

Kingston, June 6.—Jamaica's state of emergency proclaimed on June 15, last year amid serious unrest, economic difficulties was lifted at midnight and the last 17 prisoners detained in connexion with it were released.

Mr. Michael Manley, the Prime Minister said recently that security forces had reduced crime and violence to "manageable proportions".

The emergency was imposed after a spate of political murders and violence which the Government claimed were part of a foreign plot.

The opposition party consistently maintained that the emergency was a device to intimidate critics and that the majority of detainees were opposition party supporters.—Agence France-Presse.

6,000 US troops to leave S Korea by 1979

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Judge Sirica ends fight by Nixon aides to stay free

Washington, June 6.—A judge today ordered Mr. John Sirica to order the former United States Attorney-General, and Mr. H. R. Haldeman, former President Nixon's chief of staff, to start serving prison sentences on June 22. The ruling ended their long battle to stay out of jail.

Mr. Sirica will be the first American Attorney-General to go to prison.

The two men, together with Mr. John Ehrlichman, Mr. Nixon's domestic affairs adviser, were sentenced in February, 1975, to prison terms ranging from 30 months to eight years each. They were convicted after a three-month trial of covering up evidence of White House involvement in the June 1972 Watergate burglary.

Mr. Ehrlichman is already in jail serving a sentence for his role in directing another break-in at the office of a presidential rival, Mr. Daniel Ellsberg, who leaked the secret Pentagon papers about the Vietnam war.

Judge John Sirica issued the order sending Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Haldeman to prison after a five-minute hearing. The hearing followed a hearing before the Supreme Court rejecting appeals by the three men.

Both men were in court today. Mr. Mitchell asked to remain free until a petition for a rehearing of his appeal is dealt with by the Supreme Court. But Mr. Haldeman made no statement.

Judge Sirica told them they were being given until June 22 so they could wind up their personal affairs before going to prison. Mr. Haldeman wants to attend his daughter's graduation from law school on June 19.

After the hearing ended, Mr. Haldeman told reporters: "I've been a tough fighter for the love, courage and support of my family." Mr. Mitchell left the court by another exit and did not speak to reporters.—Reuters.

Mr Nixon says his remark was misinterpreted

Washington, June 6.—Mr. Nixon, the former President, has sent a 2,500-word statement to the Washington Star complaining about the gross misinterpretation of his remark: "When a president does it, that means that it is not illegal."

The comment, which has been mocked in cartoons, was made during one of the televised programmes with Mr. David Frost, the British television interviewer.

Mr. Nixon says he would never say a word which "is above the law"—which is how the remark was taken.

In emergencies, Mr. Nixon insisted, "we must leave this area of discretionary authority, this residue of inherent powers that we do not specify out, because they cannot be. In an emergency we must not have our chief executive so paralysed by laws written for other circumstances that he cannot act."

Dr Castro will keep his troops in Angola

Washington, June 6.—President Castro of Cuba has halted the withdrawal of his troops from Angola because of the French and Moroccan intervention in Zaire.

This was disclosed in a television interview the Cuban leader gave to the American Broadcasting Company on May 19, but which will not be broadcast in the United States until next Thursday.

President Amin's doctor flees after advice rejected

Nairobi, June 6.—President Amin's personal doctor fled in fear of his life after telling the Ugandan leader to rest because he was overworking, informed sources said here today.

Dr S. K. Usimbira, one of the few Ugandans to stay on at Mulago hospital in Kampala throughout President Amin's rule, left the country about two weeks ago with 12 other doctors, the sources added.

Stage set in Moscow for Brezhnev visit to Paris

Moscow, June 6.—M. Louis de Guiringaud, the French Foreign Minister, held friendly and open talks today with Mr. Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet counterpart. French sources said the talks dealt mainly with preparations for the visit to Paris by Mr. Brezhnev, the Soviet party leader, later this month.

A scheduled meeting of Mr. de Guiringaud and Mr. Brezhnev was postponed from this afternoon until tomorrow morning, according to the sources.

Today's talks concentrated on drawing up an agenda and a list of bilateral problems, as well as on "each side's conception of détente."

Meanwhile, Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Pham Van Dong, the Prime Minister of Vietnam, discussed "the problems of cooperation" between their two countries at a meeting here today, Tass reported.

They expressed satisfaction that the "internationalist" policy of the Vietnamese and Soviet parties was contributing to the development of friendship "in a decisive way".

Vietnamese diplomatic sources said the Prime Minister, presence here was announced until he met Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Prime Minister, today, had arrived Saturday.

Tass announced here that Mr. Ismail Fahmy, the Egyptian Foreign Minister, visit Moscow for talks is weak. The two countries agreed to hold talks questions of mutual interest and Cairo. Mr. Fahmy is to arrive in Moscow on the announcement.

The announcement talks were initially in Cairo two weeks ago, but a meeting over the local future of the meeting. Last weekend, Mr. Brezhnev said he would go ahead.

The Soviet Union is to be anxious to reach sort of agreement with ease the way for ending of the Geneva East peace conference for the part, is said to resumption of Soviet supplies and a rescholar Russian debts.—France-Presse and Reuters.

Football game riot blamed on segregated sides

Johannesburg, June 6.—A spectator riot at a football match, with scores of blacks invading the pitch over an offside decision, was blamed today on the segregation of sportsmen. It is seen as a serious setback to the cautious moves towards integrated sport.

Newspapers today were full of pictures of white police with dogs struggling with rioting black football fans at Johannesburg's Rand Stadium where a game between a Soweto side, Moroka Swallows, and a white team, Highlands Park, had to be abandoned.

Two newspapers said the basic reason for the riot was that mixed football is still confined to black teams versus white teams, and not between thoroughly integrated sides.

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Two formulas emerge in Pakistan crisis talks

From Our Correspondent Rawalpindi, June 6.—The question of holding another general election because of Opposition allegations of ballot-rigging during polling in March was discussed today by the Government and the Opposition when Mr. Bhutto, the Prime Minister, and Maulana Mufi Mahmud, president of the Pakistan National Alliance, resumed talks on a settlement of the political crisis.

A joint statement issued at the end of three hours of discussion said two formulas had emerged but a spokesman for the Government and the Opposition declined to say what the formulas were.

The Government told the Opposition that 2,000 people detained as a result of the three-month-old anti-Government agitation had been released in keeping with a Government assurance on June 3, adding that there were still about a thousand more in jail.

The Opposition asked the Government to instruct the Minister of the Interior to furnish a complete report on the people detained throughout the country. The Opposition says the figure is 100,000.

A full bench of seven judges of the Supreme Court has begun hearing a Government appeal against the judgment by the Lahore High Court last week declaring the imposition of martial law on the district since April 21 contrary to the constitution and trials of civilians by military courts illegal.

In Karachi and Hyderabad curfew restrictions have been lifted from today.

eliminate anomalies in the 1949 Geneva conventions.

The draft of Protocol II, relating to internal conflicts, has been emasculated drastically.

Articles dropped today included those prohibiting perfidy and the issuing of "no survivors" orders, one for safeguarding an enemy hors de combat and another enjoining that "constant care shall be taken, in conduct of military operations, to spare the civilian population, civilians and civilian objects."

Typical of the voting was that on the hors de combat article: 15 for (including Algeria and

Pragmatism sweeps away rights of civilians

From Our Correspondent Geneva, June 6.—Reflecting the will of the Third World majority, the 110-nation conference on the humanitarian rules of war has agreed to allow governments a ruthless, free hand in the suppression of insurrection.

Tenets of mercy, approved for application to international conflicts, have been swept away by a wave of pragmatism in the closing phase of this fourth and last of the annual session.

The conference, ending with a signature ceremony set for Friday, is dealing with the second of two lengthy protocols designed to modernize and to

Sweden, 22 against (including India and Iraq) and 42 abstentions (including United States, Canada and the Soviet bloc).

The motivation for this performance is clearly that of ensuring the supremacy of governmental sovereignty irrespective of cost.

As the demolition work continued, Mr. L'Amour, the Vatican delegate, rose to voice the manifest unease of many delegations. He referred to the heavy price that humanitarian law was having to pay for the sake of a final agreement so eroded as to be no more than "juridical ecstasies".

S African planes shadow Soviet trawler

From Our Correspondent Johannesburg, June 6.—South African aircraft are shadowing a Russian trawler which is operating suspiciously close to the submarine cable which carries the country's main Telex, telegram and telephone link with Europe.

Earlier this year the cable was put out of action for 60 hours by a Russian vessel. Despite a satellite backup capacity, every time the cable is mapped, either purposely or unwittingly, huge amounts of business between South Africa and Europe, are lost.

British prote sought over shot fisherm

From Our Correspondent Hongkong, June 6.—Representatives Chinese Communist P hope that Britain will to Vietnam over the a Hongkong fisherm Vietnam gunboat for fishing in Vietnam waters.

The Hongkong believed to have been on the Vietnam of the Chinese island of The Hongkong G has sent to London the shooting and the of the trawler

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Stand by to repel Japweed

Devolution can offer Britain a new design for democracy

tion being to make them stare at a fixed point of light and tell him when it starts to move. "Canst thou tell", asks Lear's Fool, "why one's nose stands i' the middle on's face?" "No", says Lear. "Why", comes the reply, "to keep one's eyes of either side's nose". The Mad Scientist of Aberdeen could hardly have put it better.

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judice. His lack of interest did not bode well for the occasion. Seemingly to understand that the royal events of his day needed more organizational expertise and attention than the casually ordered affairs which had taken place in the past, the Earl of Mount Edgumby did however make some attempt to help matters along. In December, 1886 he asked the Earl of Mount Edgumby, Lord Steward, to head a special committee to coordinate the various separate events of the year. Though this was a first step in the right direction, Mount Edgumby was under no illusions about how limited his power and authority was. In

In addition, he also had the Irish to worry about. Following the passage of Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill in 1886, Salisbury came to power pledged to maintain the union and bring quiet if not peace to Ireland through the imposition of martial law measures, which the Irish called the "Jubilee Coercion Bill". Under the cool leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell, the Irish Nationalists along with a fair number of Radical-Unionists under the sapacious direction of Henry Labouchere meant to see what they could do to thwart this plan by obstructing all parliamentary business.

was the smallest budget of the reign for an event of this importance. None the less, 84 MPs voted against it.

It was a blow to the ministry; was the Queen's insistence that her third son, the Duke of Cornwall, be brought home from his post as Commander-in-Chief in Bombay to attend the Metropolitan festivities. Due to the Queen's insistence, the statute, however, if Cornuaught left India he would automatically forfeit his position.

To the Queen the choice was a simple one: either bring Cornwall home or as appear in him after the jubilee, or pass a special Act to exempt him from the existing law. To the

which she directed to the harassed Prime Minister on the matter, her Private Secretary, Sir Henry Ponsonby, noted with interest. Her Majesty observed, in the warmth of debate that if her favourite son could not come home she would give up the jubilee . . . I'm afraid I did not weep.

After the Cabinet gave way and had the Duke of Connaught Leave Bill passed. How the Queen worked to bring Connaught home is a good indication of the way she pursued her own wishes in all matters. Whether or not she was generally convenient or sensible to do so.

As a result, and because

vinces did not allow the middle, disorganization and small-mindedness of the London event to bother them; unduly they were right ahead of the program. The occasion was ostensibly a royal occasion into a great popular celebration in honour of themselves and the 50 years of progress which had marked Victoria's reign.

Jeffrey L. Lant

Jeffrey L. Lant, an administrator at Boston College in Massachusetts, wrote his doctoral dissertation on "A View on Queen Victoria's Golden and Diamond Jubilees." His most recent article on the subject appears in the summer issue of *Nineteenth Century magazine*.

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Le Monde
LA STAMPA
THE TIMES
DIE WELT

Europa

Bringing oil prices into line

Balance of power between the producing countries and the price of an increase in the price of oil is a constant source of anxiety for the world. Although the OPEC ministers do not meet again until 12 in Stockholm, the price of oil is the issue of the day.

It has been a topic of discussion in all manner of quarters: the summit meeting, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the International Agency, the European Parliament, the North-South dialogue and even the Council of Ministers. In Riyadh and the visits by Prince Fahd to London and Bonn.

On December 17, 1976, 11 of the members of Opec, actuated by ideological considerations or practical necessity, decided on an increase of 10 per cent with effect from January 1 followed by a further automatic increase of 5 per cent on July 1. Saudi Arabia, with the Arab Emirates in tow, broke with this group and opted for a 5 per cent increase. On the

strength of its wealth and its position as the world's largest oil exporter, the Wahabi Kingdom is managing to assert its point of view, that the 11 will be obliged to abandon their 5 per cent increase scheduled for July 1.

With the end of the winter there has been a sharp decline in fuel demand, although consumption had been high in the United States during the first quarter as a result of a particularly harsh winter. At the same time, Saudi Arabia has achieved a substantial increase in production, which is now running at more than 20 million barrels a day (and the pipeline fire on May 11 at Abqaiq will not affect output significantly).

Saudi Arabia has also succeeded in persuading Algeria not to increase its price for crude during the second quarter, as had been planned. Even Iraq, which is outwardly one of the most extreme members of Opec, has reduced its prices by a few cents in recent weeks. This was the depressed context in which Señor Carlos Andrés Pérez, President of Venezuela, attempted to reconcile the two camps in Opec when he made a tour of The Gulf at the end of April.

Was he successful? On May 16 the Middle East Economic Survey, an oil

publication having close connexions with Saudi Arabia, announced that agreement had been reached on the abandonment of the 5 per cent increase, and that the Shah of Iran had justified this decision in a letter to King Khalid in terms of his desire to reduce the spread of prices in the hope that Riyadh would not step up production to an extent which would be detrimental to the interests of its partners in Opec.

Although an official announcement of this decision has been delayed, its authenticity has been supported by Indonesia's statement to the effect that it would be freezing its prices until the end of the year.

What is Saudi Arabia going to do now? Will its motives for moderation prove to be sufficient grounds for continuing to remain aloof from the other producers?

The world economy is certainly on a better course than a few months ago, but the general picture remains one of persistent inflation, high unemployment and considerable balance of payments deficits. In the Israeli-Arab conflict, although President Carter seems prepared to give undertakings to Riyadh, the results of the Israeli general election on May 18 and Mr

Beigin's refusal to hand over the occupied territories or agree to the establishment of a Palestinian settlement in the West Bank make the prospects for a solution that much more remote.

Finally, the closing conference of the North-South dialogue on May 30 and 31 and June 1 in Paris, has not fully satisfied the countries of the Third World. So who is to be believed: Shaikh Yamani, who maintains that his country "does not intend to modify its position on the question of the price of oil", or Prince Fahd, who is thinking in terms of a gradual alignment of the prices of the two camps, or the Arab oil minister who believes that Saudi Arabia is prepared to agree to a 3 per cent increase in the second quarter?

Come what may, the triumph of Saudi Arabia's moderate line will hold good as far as 1977 is concerned. Whereas in October 1976 the most optimistic experts were expecting a 10 per cent increase and there was even talk of 15 to 20 per cent, the average increase for the year will not be more than 9 per cent whatever happens.

Bruno Dethomas

On the contrary

A jubilee ode

Hail noble Queen! Scarce twenty-five years crown'd,
Thy realm of islands now to Europe bound.
Hail to a monarch unconstrain'd and free:
Accept our homage at thy jubilee!

Fair female scion of illustrious line,
Since nineteen-fifty-two this throne is thine;
And by a happy chance that self-same date
Saw crown'd in Luxembourg, with equal state,
A sovran power—a high authority—
To share with thee this quarter-century.

In nineteen-fifty-two proud Monnet stated
Th' United States of Europe were created:
And from that tiny seed of coal and steel
Would soon spring solid, manifest and real,
A true Community of Six, then Nine,
In which old Europe's nations would combine
To set aside the quarrels of the past,
And in the world make common cause at last—
To rule like thee, by peace, not force of arms,
O'er towns and meadows, factories and farms.

Alas! Today those hopes look faint and pale;
While politicians rant and poets rail,
Abroad, the world resounds to revolution;
At home, thy throne is rock'd by devolution;
Direct elections, once our dearest prize;
Are fading fast before our very eyes;
And while much European ardour cools,
Perverse Britannia once more waives the rules.

Is all awry? Must Europe fade like this,
Its love-match ended with a Judas kiss?
It cannot be! Great monarch, raise thy voice!
Against the barons back thy people's choice!
Lest Europe to the East become a martyr—
Or fall a prey instead to Magna Carter.

Hail noble Queen! May God thy reign prolong
Till Eurovision means far more than song;
Till Europe rules the unpolluted waves,
And Europeans never more be slaves.

Pangloss

Comecon's increasing debt to West

A western alliance gratefully a new sense of purpose from the eastern alliance plods into a phase of deepening intimacy.

It is growing well; it is heading for leaner and awkward adjustments to circumstances. Growth rates are down, labour shortages are rising, production prices are rising, and debts to the West are mounting.

all targets for the current plans are more modest than the last. Investment is to be particularly in new consumer goods production in as a whole is planned to per cent in 1976-80 compared per cent achieved in 1971-75. Rates are to grow 18 per cent of 25 per cent, retail sales cent instead of 45 per cent. In those targets may prove elusive. Results for 1976 were not particularly encouraging.

East European countries have suffered a marked deterioration in terms of trade. They pay more for their imports and receive less for their exports. Higher prices for many exports to the Soviet Union compensate, higher prices cannot be fully paid to the consumer. In some such as East Germany and Poland this is largely because

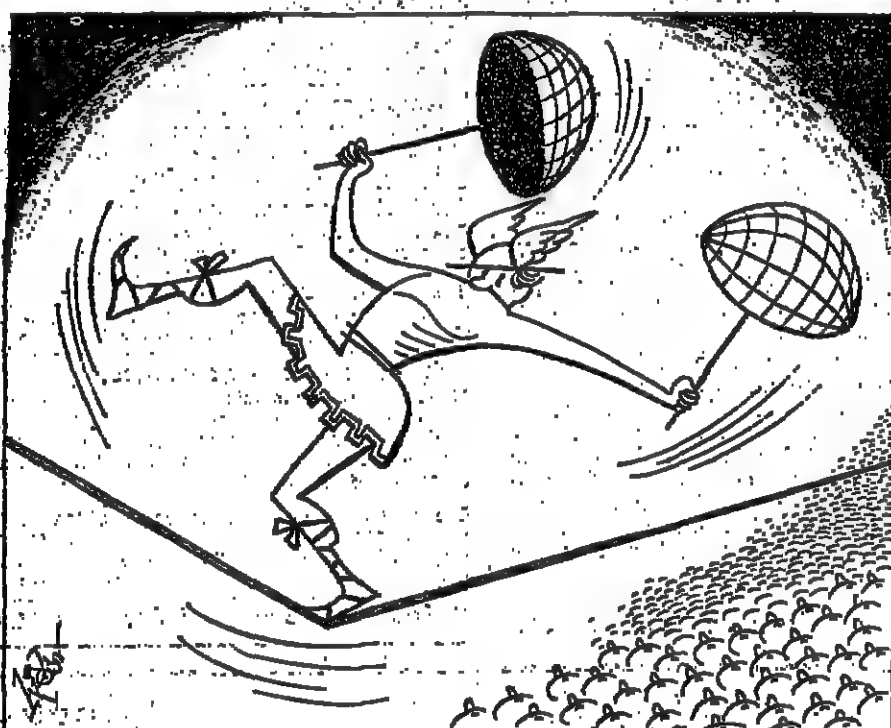
much ideological capital has been invested in price stability as a way of persuading people how lucky they are to live under socialism. In Poland the reason is straightforward fear of disorder. Prices were raised a year ago but immediately lowered again when the workers took to the streets. Only Hungary has managed a quiet adjustment to higher prices, largely because people are better informed and better acclimatised to market forces.

The rest have had to pump more and more burdensome subsidies into the retail market while allowing unofficial inflation through the introduction of nominally new products or in the private markets, which thrive on shortages. All these developments could increase political stress.

There are several possible escape routes, but none without obstacles. The main needs are to make better use of resources, to raise quality for home and foreign markets, and to export more. But all these tasks require reforms of the managerial and economic systems, which are politically awkward, more western technology, for which there is not enough foreign currency, and more flexible trade with the West, which is inhibited by the bureaucratic nature of the system and a certain amount of protectionism on the western side.

Hence a good part of the actual solution has been to borrow heavily from the West. Total Comecon indebtedness has probably reached something like \$40,000m by the end of 1976, an increase of about \$10,000m in 12 months, although nobody has the true figure.

There is no sign of the trend reversing, so the figure will probably be even



higher by 1980, when many present debts will mature. Borrowers will then have either to default, which is scarcely thinkable, or to reschedule them. At about the same time many East European countries could also find themselves having to spend more of their precious hard currency on oil, which the Russians will not be able to supply in sufficient quantity. Consumption is now rising faster than production.

There seems little prospect of reducing stress through further integration, which paradoxically has proved far more difficult for the fraternal alliance of planned economies than for the conflict-ridden capitalists. That is partly because bureaucracies are less rational than market forces, partly because integration means domination by the Soviet Union, which is resisted by the small countries, and partly because most members have been turn-

ing more to the West for technology and hard currency.

Nor is there any progress towards a convertible currency. If anything there has been a retreat from the idea of exposing Comecon to the vagaries of western exchange markets. Even the much-discussed transferable rouble, which plays a growing role as an accounting unit inside Comecon, seems no nearer becoming a means of payment outside. Instead hard currencies and gold are being increasingly used within Comecon.

Comecon is not turning in on itself but there will be no rapid changes in its relations with the West. The slow exchange of letters between it and the Community is a symptom of not only political inhibition but also of economic realities.

The Russians have little to gain from negotiations, except on fishing, because they export mainly fuel and raw materials. Their East European allies want easier access but are denied it largely for reasons other than the limits on negotiation.

The Community, apart from not wanting to treat Eastern Europe as a block (an interest quietly shared by the East Europeans themselves), has little to gain from negotiation except political recognition, for which it rightly feels no need to pay a significant price. By almost all calculations Comecon needs the Community more than the Community needs Comecon.

Beneath these difficulties is the simple fact that reciprocity is meaningless between such different systems. The East Europeans complain constantly, and sometimes with justice, about quotas and tariffs, but they have a far greater range of instru-

ments which they use under different names by virtue of their total control over trade, prices and currencies. Free trade means nothing under such circumstances.

Mr John Pinder has suggested in a recent paper that concessions by the West on market access could be matched by the Comecon countries adjusting their investment plans to reserve areas of their markets for western goods.

It is an interesting idea but East Europeans could not easily accept this sort of planned dependence on the West, especially in more modern areas of production.

Thus the hesitant courtship between the two totally different partners will continue while trade responds largely to its own forces. East Europe will become more dependent on the Soviet Union but its interest in western trade will not diminish. It will try to sell more and buy less, and it will try even harder for compensation agreements under which plant is paid for in goods.

Perhaps its immediate future will not be quite as gloomy as some of this article suggests. It is strongly underpinned by the economic and military power of the Soviet Union and its raw material supplies are less vulnerable than those of the West.

Its societies also enjoy a certain sort of stability through stable prices, full employment and a very acute awareness of the proximity of Russian tanks. But taken as a whole it is in for a period of stress and it continues to look like a rather heavy vehicle on the fast motorway of change.

Richard Davy

DR DAVID OWEN, IN THIS INTERVIEW WITH DAVID SPANIER, DISCUSSES HIS VIEW OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WITH CANDOUR AND CLARITY

Market price for new members

you think of the development of communism?

suspicious of the term, it implies that there is something in common between the Communist Parties in Italy, France, Spain and Portugal. I am not sure it is the case, though there are common elements. But for the relationship between the Communist Party in those countries and the rest of the world, this is important. For in Italy there is really a partnership with the democratic party, not a close working relationship, whereas there is a partnership in France.

her question we have to ask is what is Eurocommunism? Is it a new form of democracy? Or is it a new form of communism? I think the Communist Party in France has respected the ballot and has accepted the decision. That for me is the element. It is not a question of whether there is a lot of thought in a good many

question is, do they accept the authority of the ballot box? I always understood the term to imply that you do not judge the ballot. There are people espousing it who do accept it, then I if we are using the right

The trouble is one can by definition scarcely know in advance whether communists do accept the ballot box.

That is why one has to be extremely cautious and vigilant in one's attitude to communism. I think the fundamental attitude in politics which I hold is respect for, and a deep commitment to democracy. In that, I cannot compromise in any way. If I am not totally confident that any group will accept democratic principles, then I am afraid I will oppose them. That is the tradition of the British Labour Party: it has always been one of the most stalwart in the defence of democracy, because it has often had to take on the Communist Party in a variety of different guises.

In the immediate future there is likely to be a communist party involved in government in an EEC member state. Doesn't that pose problems for us?

Only if they were to gain a dominant voice in a country and to challenge the question of whether they were a democratic country. I have said publicly that I think that it is totally incompatible with the membership of the European Community to be an undemocratic country. Then the question comes, how you gauge whether a country is democratic? Some people will say that you will know it when you see it.

In many respects it is a weakness in the Rome Treaty that there is no method of exclusion. I would certainly

never like to see such a situation develop in the European Community as we had, for instance, for a time in Nato, with the Junta in Greece, and Greece still a member of Nato; and a dictatorship in Portugal, another member of Nato. Now I believe this weakened the ethos of Nato, since we said Nato was a defence against communism and represented democratic western values.

I don't think you can compromise on this, though a lot of politicians and bureaucrats say, well don't rock the boat, it is all too difficult.

It was, I think, a great service when in the late 1950s there was pressure to admit Spain to the European Community and the Dutch Government, and also the Belgians, held out against that. They were quite right to do so. Had you allowed Franco's Spain into the European Community, Britain would certainly never have joined, and it would have been gravely weakened. At a practical level the Community is already extremely difficult to run. What are the implications of bringing in three or four new countries?

This is a problem. One of the central reasons for agreeing to enlargement, certainly in this country, is the argument that in all three of them, they recently had difficulty in establishing democracy. In Greece they had the Junta. In Portugal they have overthrown their dictatorship. In Spain they are moving towards democratic elections.

Of course the Spanish Government



has not yet decided whether it wants to apply to the Community. If we assume that those three are the most likely to join, one of the arguments is: we know we are going to pay an economic price for admitting them. But it is worth paying the price because of the buttressing effect this will have on their democracies. So you pay an economic price for a political

objective. I think that is both right and important.

On the other hand, you have to accept that the process of enlargement will produce nine languages. At present we have six in the European Community. If you were to enlarge it, it would be impossible to have a European Parliament in which national languages were not spoken. Ministers going to the Euro Council meetings would want to speak in their own national language, and 12 people would need to compromise instead of nine, which will delay decision-making. Of course the arguments will arise whether you should introduce majority voting, but I can't see any sign of that coming.

Are you in favour of that yourself?

No.

Why not?

I believe the Luxembourg compromise is right. In this unique organization, we have nine member states working together and trying to reach agreement, with an institutionalized vehicle for integration, the Commission, whose job is to try to bring people together. But the sovereign decision remains with the nine member states. I think that strange and unique compromise has got to allow any member nation to assert an overriding national interest. The danger comes if you assert that too often and too frequently. There may be something to be said for having a mechanism whereby the declaration of

national interest becomes more of an issue of moment, and has to be made rather more obviously, more publicly and therefore accountably.

Majority decision making already exists in the Council. The whole process of persuasion, isolation and argument has an inbuilt tendency for member states to rally to the views of the majority. Britain is perfectly prepared to work within the European Community on the principle that there is an obligation, where your vital interests are not affected, to rally to the majority.

The whole process of compromise is an essential element in Community decision-making. The trouble about what I call rather rudely Euro-theologians is that they are not prepared to admit this. They always want to institutionalize everything, lay down rules and pass directives and regulations. You then get into the problem of definition and I think it is almost impossible to see us ever defining a national interest and delimiting those areas which have majority decision-making.

In your experience as President of the Council do you think that there could be any particular changes that could be made to make business more effective?

At Leeds Castle we had a big discussion about the whole of decision making. One thing came out very clearly. Everyone was sure there had continued on next page

FACTS AND FIGURES

Atlantic contrast shows some sharp differences

The most striking feature of the present situation is the contrast between the rate of industrial growth and balance of trade of the United States on the one hand and the major European countries on the other. On the other side of the Atlantic production is increasing; on this side the reverse is happening, as the graphs show.

American industrial production is growing at an annual rate of 8 per cent. All the statistics are encouraging: retail sales have risen 2.4 per cent in volume between February and March, and this has been accompanied by a sharp rise in consumer credit.

Only investment is refusing to show a strong, spontaneous improvement, although there are still hopes of real growth of 7 per cent from 1976 to 1977. Although the inflationary measures affecting consumption have been deliberately abandoned, those affecting capital goods deserve to be retained.

If, on balance, the level of United States business activity is satisfactory, this is far from the case with the balance of trade, where the deficit is increasing steadily. The deficit for the first quarter of 1977 (\$6,000m, fob) is already as much as for the whole of 1976, and there is no sign that this will improve. The authorities are less worried by these financial problems, which are easily overcome by recycling petrodollars, than by the effect of imports on specific industries. Two well-known instances are Japanese colour televisions and European special steels.

In the four major European countries, the picture is different. Growth is flabby, although West Germany, which, like the United States, should be well placed for renewed growth, has a low rate of inflation and low interest rates. In the three other countries this is far from being the case.

German industrial production has risen little, contrary to last month's hopes, and has even shown some signs of weakening. After reaching 7 per cent at the end of 1976 and the beginning of 1977, it is back to 3 per cent. Interpreting the figures has, it is true, become more difficult recently because of the change in the method of calculation (the figures have also been corrected in France and Italy), but several other statistics confirm the recent turning point. For example, retail sales fell 1 per cent in volume from January to February.



The number of unemployed in Germany rose to one million in April.

	Rate of growth	Quality of growth		Maintenance of growth		
		Prices	Unemployment	Productive capacity	Foreign trade	Vulnerability to external factors
GERMANY	●●●	●	○	●	●●●	●●●
FRANCE	●●●	●	○	○	○	○
ITALY	●●●	○	○	○	○	○
BRITAIN	○	○	○	○	○	○

New orders in industry, especially from abroad, also showed a fall in January and February, followed by a small increase in March. Finally, the number of unemployed, seasonally adjusted, which had been falling slowly but steadily from July 1976 until March 1977, rose again in April to the psychological figure of one million. The German trade balance is not particularly remarkable. The rate of cover of imports by exports is still well above 100 per cent, and even rose to 120 per cent in March.

The sluggishness of the French and British economies is not as surprising as it is in Germany, being the simple result of the policy of restraint of prices and incomes. Against this background one could regard an industrial growth rate of 3 per cent as a good performance, in all the circumstances.

But the indisputable success lies in the great improvement in the trade figures, where April produced brilliant results. Britain's rate of cover of imports by exports rose to 92 per cent with a surplus on current account of more than £11m. France equalled this, also with a figure of 92 per cent. Those excellent results, brought about by a combination of restraint on home demand and stabilization of the money supply by government, were only to be expected.

Could this performance be maintained if output grew? Or would the balance revert to deficit, as in the United States? And would the resulting deficits not be far more worrying?

In fact international trade by the European countries accounts for 18 to 30 per cent of their gross national products (gnp) (compared with almost 7 per cent for the United States), which makes them dependent on the international economy. Deficits, especially when uncontrollably aggravated by accompanying falling exchange rates, are difficult for them to sustain; they are also difficult to finance, another point of contrast with the United States. It is probably true to say that the Western countries are, as a group, facing the prospect of deficits for some time to come. These are simply the results of the surpluses run by the oil-producing countries, and can only be reduced slowly by international action, such as saving energy and structural adjustments by industry.

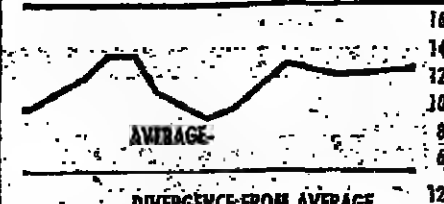
In the short term the deficits will increase with the level of production and the associated effect on oil imports. Given that, individual countries can make their relative positions better or worse according to the international competitiveness of their products, their economic policy, and disguised protectionist devices. But those countries as a group can only slowly bring about an improvement in the global situation. All they can do is avoid making it worse by a chain reaction of protectionism. Moreover the United States, thanks to its privileged position as world banker, can lighten the deficit burden on other countries by assuming a large part of it itself. That is what it is doing.

There remains the matter of Japan and West Germany, which have been asked to restrain their overwhelming competitive edge a little, firstly by allowing the Deutsche mark and yen to appreciate—which is what has happened in the last month. But it is not likely that these monetary measures will be sufficient; voluntary self-imposed restrictions on exports are required, combined with growth in internal demand.

These ideas must have been in the minds of the ministers of the seven most important Western countries since the London conference of May 7 and 8, 1977: the need for close solidarity, and moderation of ambitions in the context of an international economy which is going to grow more slowly than had been hoped at the beginning of 1977.

Maurice Bommensath

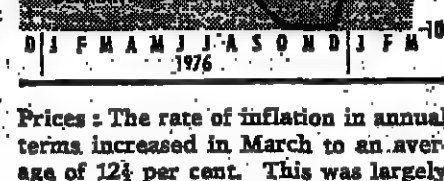
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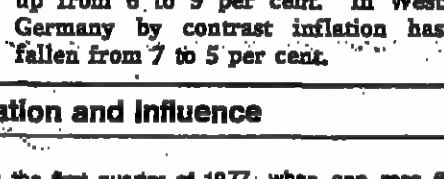
Prices: The rate of inflation in annual terms increased in March to an average of 12½ per cent. This was largely because of the effect of British prices, which are rising faster again after a period of slower growth; the April figures showed a 2.6 per cent rise on the previous month. In France too, after a good start to 1977, inflation is up from 6 to 9 per cent. In West Germany by contrast inflation has fallen from 7 to 5 per cent.



Unemployment: In April unemployment (seasonally adjusted and expressed as a percentage of the labour force) rose markedly in France (from 5.15 to 5.3 per cent), rather less in West Germany (from 4.3 to 4.35 per cent), and stayed unchanged in Britain at 5.6 per cent.



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Productive capacity: The rate of capacity use has improved, rising from 80.7 per cent in February to 82 per cent in March. Investment forecasts are optimistic for 1977, although all doubts and uncertainties are far from settled.

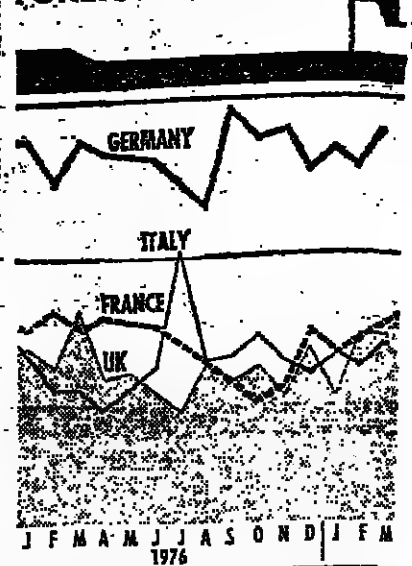
Trade: The deficit on the trade balance was as large in the first quarter of 1977 as for the whole of 1976: \$5,900m, calculated fob-fob, and fob-cif basis (the normal one in the European countries) it was \$6,800m. In April the deficit reached \$2,600m fob-fob and \$3,600m fob-cif.

Influence on the four countries: Monetary and financial: The American money market has tightened again. The overnight rate is up to 5 per cent, and a 90-day American bill (including Citybank, Chase and Morgan Guaranty) has increased its prime rate from 6.25 to 6.5 per cent. In Europe the relaxation continues. Britain has made further reductions in minimum lending rates which now stands at 8 per cent; interest rates in the money market have fallen in West Germany to 4 per cent, and the long-term rates are down from 7 per cent to 6½ per cent.

Economic: The main preoccupation of the western countries seems once again to be inflation. The United States, faced by the sporadic improvement in growth and the price spiral, has drawn back from refuting and pressuring its partners to deflate. West Germany is living with its policy of caution. Japan, on the other hand, with the threat to its exports, will encourage domestic consumption. The national climate will eventually be rather less favourable for the other countries.

Legend: ○ Poor ○○ Bad ● Fairly good ●● Good () Previous performance

FOREIGN TRADE



Foreign trade: The latest figures: definite improvement in the rate of cover of imports by exports, calculated fob-cif as usual. This was particularly noticeable in France and Britain which reached 92 per cent in March. West Germany and Italy have also proved their performance, with figures for March of 119 per cent (113) 87 per cent (83) respectively.

Industrial growth: Industrial growth rates are still low, about 3 to 4 per cent. Italy is exceptional, however, with a growth rate which has risen to 8 per cent from the beginning of 1977. The West German rate, on the other hand, has declined.



Industrial growth: Industrial growth rates are still low, about 3 to 4 per cent. Italy is exceptional, however, with a growth rate which has risen to 8 per cent from the beginning of 1977. The West German rate, on the other hand, has declined.

How the heavy lira was conceived

In the United States, there are even some \$10,000 bills in circulation. There are not many of them—400 in all, apparently—and their movements are no doubt rather circumspect and slow; but they do exist, and each one of them is worth almost 9m Italian lire at the present rate of exchange, a figure that would not look out of place as one of the prizes in a national lottery.

It is not surprising, therefore, that some people in Italy are thinking of a currency change that would make one new "heavy" lira equal to 1,000 of the present, very "light" lire, which are becoming increasingly insubstantial as time goes by, because of a rate of domestic inflation that it seems impossible to bring below 20 per cent a year.

Certainly, it would be more dignified for the Italian currency if you got only 9,000 lire in exchange for a \$10,000 bill; or only 375 for a German DM 1,000 note; or 350 for a Swiss 1,000 franc note; or 90 for a French 500 franc note, and as little as 75 for a British £50 note, instead of the present figures, all a thousand times greater.

But it is not easy to say to an Italian: "Give me a thousand old lire, and I will give you one new lire." It is difficult to explain to him that this would not be a devaluation, but a

technical operation to simplify calculations and public and private sector balance sheets, and restore prestige to the currency; and that everything would adjust itself to the new value of the lire, from prices to rents, and salaries and pensions.

Besides, quite apart from a certain reluctance to disclose one's own liquid assets, when the changeover to the new money takes place and the old notes are all put up in bundles, anyone who has lire, light though they may be, is lucrably attached to them. This is shown by the level of savings in Italy, which have never risen so quickly in the banks as over the past few years, and now stand in excess of 120,000,000m lire (light lire, because if they were heavy there would only be 120,000m).

Even though the proposal—it would be more exact to say suggestion—came from one of the Bank of Italy's auditors, Signor Alberto Campolongo, also a professor of economics and, as such, a reliable, authoritative expert, its acceptance in the end is still open to a great many doubts worthy of attention. It is not so much the fear that there might be a repetition of the situation 30 years ago when the plates, which were all ready for printing the new heavy lire notes—at that time the ratio of old lire to new was to be 100 to one—were stolen. The theft was a coup, by the usual person or persons unknown, that was as futile as it was audacious, since the changeover, if it really had been decided on, never took place.

The real cause for concern is the amount of bank notes that would have to be withdrawn, the possible repercussions of the operation on prices—which, light as the present lire are, are always ready to rise—and the cost and complications for the Government, which would have to print the bank notes and mint the new coins, and for the private sector, which would have to adapt vending and accounting machines to the new currency.

Among the many records that Italy holds—more of the unflattering than the flattering ones today, unfortunately—is the one for the largest circulation of paper money in relation to the number and income of the inhabitants. At the end of 1976, according to official figures, there were Bank of Italy notes in existence, in various denominations from 1,000 to

100,000 lire, to a value of more than 14.5m lire; and here it might be of interest to note, as the sign of a currency with a low purchasing power, and also as a sign of excessive liquidity, that there are many more 10,000 lire notes than 1,000 lire notes—more than 617 million of the one, less than 400 million of the other.

As both residents and visitors to Italy know, 500 lire notes are rare and so, especially, are the metal coins from 100 lire downwards, causing a small change crisis that is not the least serious of the various crises that afflict the country today.

More than 250,000 lire are in circulation per head of the population and this figure, converted into the other currencies, is only slightly lower than the figures for France and West Germany, countries where per capita income is two or three times greater than it is in Italy. Calculations show that the total for salaries, wages and other earned income does not exceed 17.5m lire a month in Italy, and this the ceiling beneath which bank note circulation ought to be maintained to give greater protection against inflation.

Instead, it stands at exactly twice this level, and it is no coincidence that the rate of inflation in Italy is twice what it is in France, and considerably higher even than it is in Britain, where per capita income is not very much higher than in Italy, but the amount of bank notes in circulation per head of the population is only about half the Italian figure.

The technical cost involved in changing this mass of light notes into heavy ones would be extremely high. But, above all, there is a great deal of doubt whether, in return, there would be increased respect for the new currency.

It is also true that the Italians have never had a great deal of respect for the lire, not even when, at the end of the 1950s, and of the "economic miracle", it deserved the Oscar for the most stable western currency, precisely because it was considered small and weak compared with the dollar, which was worth 625 lire, and the pound, for which the lire rate was 1,500. If, therefore, the new rate were to appear on tomorrow's foreign exchange lists, it might prompt Italians to look on their own currency with a little more respect.

Mario Salvatorelli

Market price for new members

continued from preceding page

to be improvements, whether you enlarge the Community or not. I suggested that some of the things we were discussing could be introduced immediately. So we made a whole series of decisions to apply to this next meeting on June 21.

We instructed Coreper (Committee of Permanent Representatives) to make many more decisions during this period until June 21. It was agreed, that in order to give this authority to Coreper, ministers would have to instruct that this should be done. We gave to the President, myself, the right to refuse items on the agenda at the Council meeting, where there was a dispute, after consultation with the President of the Commission.

It was also agreed that commissioners should go more frequently to Coreper. Apparently there has been a tendency for this not to happen. Strong pleas were made that all member states should ensure that permanent representatives and any other officials who would take a prominent position in Coreper, should be people of standing in their own country. That was going to be left to the member state.

We agreed that we should meet in a small room, instead of in a great football stadium, and that we should meet with not more than four people overall: one minister, the permanent representative, and preferably one official. We also agreed that we should try to strip the agenda and become more like national cabinets and have less of this endless detail which is coming up.

There was no commitment for subsequent meetings or for the Belgian presidency, but we were absolutely determined to see this experiment actually tried out, not just talked about, and we got complete agreement.

The anti-EEC sentiment which has always existed in the Labour party seems to be coming up again in the Tribune group. What do you feel about this?

It is almost inevitable in any climate in which you are having domestic difficulties at home, when unemployment is high, when there is a real cut in living standards, and when the feeling of national buoyancy is not so good, it is going to take time for that mood of buoyancy to return, but in my view we shall recover it

quite rapidly in 1978. When we do I think a lot of these irritations and anomalies and points of difference about the European Community will be seen in better perspective.

In a climate of difficulty, there is a natural tendency to look for scapegoats, and the European Community is an obvious one. Food prices go up, and the Community is blamed, but no one mentions the effect of devaluation. Coffee prices go up, or cocoa prices go up, yet this is in no way the Community's fault. The snag about the Community is that it does have major faults in it. It is a ludicrous situation that we should have these great butter and wine surpluses. Until the Community tackles these, I will be absolutely unrepentant. Here am I, a strong committed marketeer, but I have not in any way disagreed that we must vigorously try to reform the Common Agricultural Policy.

I do think it is a pity that, during the British presidency, we did not put forward a comprehensive plan for reforming the dairy sector.

I agree with that. I think you cannot deal with the common agricultural review on an annual basis: you must have a structural plan for three or four years. The fact is that the Commission originally put in quite a tough package on milk and 3 per cent was the increase that Commissioner Gundelach said was absolutely the limit. Then in the middle of the night they compromised.

That was one of the substantial reasons why the British decided they should say "No". John Silkin has always been blamed. What should be made clear is that all of those were government decisions, made in total unanimity by his political colleagues, several of whom have a record of being strong supporters of the Community. What has been underestimated is the extent of our resolve. But we are not trying to abolish the common agricultural policy.

We are not trying to undermine the concept; we recognize it is there to stay. We are, and determinedly, going to change the common agricultural policy and in Brussels they are going to have to get used to that. If they want to run an attack on Britain for doing so, okay, we believe that we are not just doing it for the interest of Britain but also for the consumers throughout the Community.

At long last we are now seeing open debate about this and it is time that

the issue of agricultural prices was discussed by finance ministers, foreign ministers as well as by rural ministers and was seen round.

Let me ask you finally whether it is any other subject which ought to be tackled as urgently as agriculture. I think the problem of divergence is a serious one. To economies of the Nine to co particularly when faced by a monetary policy which is so idealistic, it is probably too idealistic to allow the pace of divergence to be a priority for the Community. Of its basic unity will be undern almost any field you care to

We have to be realistic, a thing takes time. It is an evolutionary process of development, we as Euro-theologians simply do not stand this. They are always setting unrealistic targets. They that the great millennium of Europe will arrive tomorrow, day, next year. Europe's eye is impossible to predict but steadily developing in almost way, forward towards greater

The despair and depre: Europe comes from a few u people who aspire far high anyone could hope to asp actually damage Europe. The great air of unreality, and a lot of it is focused on

Looking not at the millen next year, do you think Bri take part in direct elections

It is going to be difficult. I have to do to construct a in the British Parliament f elections, and the method w may have a crucial say on w we will try hard to do it. E the decision will have to be the House of Commons, and have to be a high sense of cor and self-discipline to get it d will be a constitutional meas on the floor of the House.

I am certain that direct are coming in Britain. It is of when and I would certai happy if it were Britain th all the other countries. Esse this issue, Parliament is There are differing opinio parties, and there will hav measure of commitment an to get it through in time to May/June target. It is still

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THERE ARE ABOUT TWO MILLION YOUNG PEOPLE UNEMPLOYED IN THE EEC. WHAT IS BEING DONE?

Recession aggravates old problem

ussels at the Community meeting in London at the recent meeting of heads of state, one main theme of discussion was unemployment, and in particular the difficult situation of young people.

OECD too has recently set itself to this problem, in a case of awakening conscience admission of failure? Governments throughout Europe have had to step up their efforts to young people to find employment. Politicians and economists in country have concluded that based on ad hoc measures are not sufficient, and that the structural rules of the free market are needed.

It is needed is a new conception of the young people today are in the institutions to come up with answers.

There were two million people out of work in Europe. In another wave of leavers will come on to the market and, in all probability, the unemployment figures will rise.

difficulties experienced by people in finding work are not in several countries such as Belgium, France and indeed the United States, the problem dates to the 1960s. The economic has merely aggravated youth unemployment, drastically in many of the worst sufferers being young people.

In the middle of 1970 people under 25 were 19 per cent of the unemployed in West Germany and 27 per cent in Italy or 29 per cent, but now the figure is 29 per cent, and rises above 45 per cent in autumn with the seasonal rise in unemployment.

over the true position is to some extent by the attitude of young people who, given the difficulties of finding a job, for one or another give up signing on the register. Although periods of unemployment are shorter than for workers, it is quite common for workers to experience second periods, having resigned or dismissed.

another factor "spurious employment"? The exalted refusal of people under 25? The refusal of them to take a job? No, but to a limited extent. At present public policy would be ill-advised to believe that a large number of unemployed are willingly unemployed.

is the opinion voiced in a published recently by the on the subject of *The Young People of Europe* to Working.

dition to the economic crisis has hit school-leavers so hard, is a deeper crisis, a structural one between supply and demand in the labour market, a widening gap in the needs of job applicants and those of employers.

as face of these facts, what has to be done? With frequent EEC nations? With frequent recommendations, the res adopted in the past or now introduced are often similar in one country to another. However, a factor in this is the limited action available to govern-

temperaments, availability of financial resources, and willingness to accept a budget deficit.

Some countries began by setting up machinery to limit redundancies, tightening up of procedures and financial support from the state to compensate for short-time working in France, temporary subsidies in Britain £20 a week to employers deferring redundancies. The number of workers affected should be 224,000.

In a more positive vein, some governments have launched investment programmes or made special loans available to promote job creation; this has been done in West Germany (DM16,000m phased over several years). The Netherlands (fl.800m in 1977, fl.3,500m in 1978), France and Britain. The employers have committed their support for these measures; for instance private sector employers in West Germany have announced that 100,000 jobs are to be created and their counterparts in France are promising to recruit 300,000 under 25s.

Another general trend: in Belgium the reduction of the retirement age; in France negotiations on the temporary introduction of early retirement before 65; in Britain a special allowance (£23 a week) for employees giving up all work one year before the statutory retirement age (12,000 people qualify for this).

However, other measures specifically aimed at helping the young have also been introduced.

Various forms of aid, subsidies or exemption from contributions, are available to companies recruiting young people. In Britain since last autumn the state has been offering £10 a week for 26 weeks to firms recruiting young people under the age of 20 who have been unemployed for more than six months (17,000 recipients). Premiums are paid on employment of young people in their first jobs and tax exemptions are shortly to be granted on the recruitment of a young person looking for his first job.

In Italy a Bill is under consideration which provides for payment of between 32,000 and 64,000 lire a month, depending on the region, to companies recruiting for an indefinite period.

Subsidies are also granted on the recruitment of young people under an employment-training contract. This formula, launched in France in June 1975, provides for subsidies of 30 per cent of the minimum wage during working time and 100 per cent during training. This measure, whose impact was limited (30,000 contracts instead of the 100,000 hoped for) was carried on and developed in 1976, then widened in scope in 1977, so that apprentices are now included.

In Belgium and West Germany efforts are also being made to develop apprenticeship schemes. In Italy an employment-training contract scheme is planned, with subsidies of between 200 and 400 lire an hour depending on the region. It is expected that the number of young employees benefiting under it will be 400,000 to 500,000 in three years' time.

Programmes to provide people with temporary jobs working on community schemes after the example of the Canadian local initiative programme have been launched in The Netherlands and in Britain, where it is used to provide work for people over 50 as well as for the young (75,000 jobs created since October 1975). A formula of this type is planned in Italy with a view to training young people in museum-keeping, forest-fire prevention, tourism and cultural activities.

Jean-Pierre Dumont

Italy: nothing to do, nowhere to go

In the past young teachers, policemen, civil servants and the like would leave Sicily to seek their fortunes elsewhere in Italy. The state was the one great employer, with many offices, schools and other bureaucratic outlets spread all over the country. Now, Palermo has been the starting point for the new university protest, which began in the arts faculty there.

A "south wind" they have called it, as opposed to the "north wind" of 1968: a movement richer in ideological content, less beset with practical obstacles and nourished with the dogmas of communism. At Palermo they say that the new arts graduates are no longer leaving; all the jobs are taken and the student today prepares himself for unemployment. When such is the case, both those who are working and the trade unions become enemies.

At Naples the unemployed have organized themselves as an independent force. Both genuine and "temporary" students conduct their debates in the university—the sons of the middle classes and the working-class lads united in anger for a moment of solidarity. Signor Mimmo Pinto, a member of the Proletarian Democrats, a group to the left of the Italian Communist Party, says: "We don't need state charity: we have to find real jobs, clean up the city, beat speculation."

Signor Pinto is the only member of Parliament elected from the ranks of the unemployed. Before becoming a Deputy he organized demonstrations in the suburbs and marches in the city. He once blocked a road with a group of women and children, in order to convince the local authority to open a beach. The sea at Naples is polluted, but "so many children can't go away on holiday; what shall we do with them?"

In Rome, capital of youthful protest and theatre of violence, there were, to begin with, poignant memories of 1968, anarchical nostalgia. A big banner proclaimed: "Let us face facts, we are asking for the impossible." There was also some hope in the slogan of the "Metropolitan Indians": "Irony is revolutionary." It seemed an even more subtle motto than: "the much abused: 'Show imagination in power'."

The Metropolitan Indians are a tribe of young people from the suburbs, who declared war on the "Palefantes", the representatives of power and party. They say, or said, they wanted to "reconquer their lost land" and did not wish to live in reservations. They put war-paint on their faces, though they gave this up after a fashion magazine copied their style of make-up.

The Indians' irony lies in the way they twist provocatively, the trade unions' demands. They go around shouting "Less pay, more sacrifices."

As we know, the purely verbal violence of the Indians did not spark off any round of self-criticism among the politicians (since the burden of the economic situation is too heavy). Instead, it was crushed and stifled by the fringe extremists of the movement, the tedavays whose idol is the P38 automatic, the youths who salute, not with a clenched fist, but with the hand shaped to look like a pistol.

No one can say that the student movement and the young unemployed have not been infiltrated with agents provocateurs; but if there is incitement of this kind, the seeds of violence often fall on ground that is ready for sowing.

In Rome, after Signor Lama was thrown out of the university in a manner, as he put it, "reminiscent of the fascist strong-arm action squads", the police were fired on with pistols while clearing the occupied faculties. One

policeman was killed, another seriously wounded. And this time the police had not opened fire.

Of course, anyone who visits the outskirts of Rome—the suburbs with their very high rents but no social services, the shanty towns—can understand what violence may be hidden around the great city. For young people without work, with nowhere to meet and discuss things, the university has become an ideal rallying place, a free city in miniature, in which the noblest of intentions and the most violent of impulses have come together.

According to Professor Asor Rosa, of Rome University, there are two societies—the employed and the unemployed—which are institutional enemies. According to Professor Renzo De Felice, an authority on fascism, the university is nothing more than an arena, within which the politicians want to keep the violence enclosed. If the unemployed gather in the university, so much the better: you know where they are.

But Professor De Felice denies that the Italian situation is similar to that of 1920 to 1922, which brought fascism to power. However, as one journalist observed, the readiness for action, the contempt for politics, the idea that the world can be changed by an act of will—these are elements typical of the culture which produced fascism, even against the wishes and interests of those who brought it to power.

If we wish our view to be objective we must not forget that, as well as the so-called independent minority which guides the youth revolt, there is a majority still trying to find an unfulfilled space in the working world, or still striving, within the framework of the traditional parties, to create such spaces.

These are young people who shrink from violence because they do not see any future in it, but who certainly suffer just as much frustration and pain as their companions. This characteristic of Italian youth is very clearly evident at Bologna, a city that has collected together the most advanced and lucid members of the protest movement, and has seen a student killed by the Carabinieri during a demonstration.

The workers say: "They want to destabilize Bologna because it is a city run by the left, because it constitutes an invitation to the historic compromise between Christian Democrats and the Italian Communist Party." To which the students reply: "No place is privileged: the economic crisis will also affect Bologna."

Stefano Reggiani

Time to pay up

Helmut Raether talks to Mr Henk Vredeling, the EEC Social Fund Affairs Commissioner. His first question is: what can the Commission do?

Unemployment among young people is only a part of the problem, but a serious part: the general unemployment figure for the Community is about 5 per cent, but almost 10 per cent of young people under 25 are out of work. We must face the fact that more and more young people have been out of work for six or even over 12 months.

This is much more serious than the gap of up to three months which often occurs between leaving school and starting work. We can help with support for national policies from the EEC Social Fund. It would be quite wrong to suppose that some new idea should suddenly emerge from Brussels—our horizons are determined by national ideas.

You could be involved in programmes to help unemployed young people to the extent of DM629m this year—when for instance the farm policy alone will cost about DM24,000m. Do you think a large increase in the Social Fund is necessary and would help?

Of course I do. The rules governing the Social Fund were drawn up in 1971, at a time of full employment—now we are faced by massive unemployment. The seriousness of the situation must be reflected in the budget, as up to now the Social Fund has not lived up to its title.

I do not believe that they can keep on referring to unemployment as the number one problem at council and summit meetings without drawing the conclusions about finance required. We are always being exhorted to make a real contribution, and of course we come up with proposals which cost money. It is time that the heads of government and the finance ministers got together properly on this.

You and your experts have been putting increasing emphasis recently on the need for priority for policy measures which affect the medium-term outlook. Does that mean that there is no hope in the short term for the young people who are packing the employment exchanges?

No, it does not mean that at all. Fortunately there are still many young people who have been out of work only for a short time. But there is a very serious situation which cannot be cured overnight in the genuine shortage of vacancies, and this can be solved only by long-term measures. For example, there is a programme in England to prepare young people

better for work. But if we wanted to introduce that for 100,000 young people in the whole Community we would need at least DM700m. And the richer Community countries would have to shoulder more of the burden than the poorer ones.

Are there other, cheaper, approaches? Yes, we have to look at unorthodox methods too. In particular raising the school-leaving age—which you hear a lot about—would make the figures look better. We need new ideas, pilot schemes, at the local level too—after all, when it comes down to it, these unemployed youngsters are not in Brussels. For example, one might consider creating vacancies in the public social services, for the older unemployed as well.

Unemployment costs the Community DM40,000m a year: if we can reduce the size of the problem by half, that would release another DM20,000m, although not immediately.

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Tourist picture

Table 1: Costs for a 1st class weekend £s

	Total	Hotel	Meals	Entertainment	Transport
Hamburg	310	100	120	80	30
Paris	275	125	85	40	25
London	215	110	65	20	20
Rome	180	80	40	30	30
Average	245	104	78	38	26

Table 2: Costs for an economy weekend £s

	Total	Hotel	Meals	Entertainment	Transport
Hamburg	140	40	70	15	15
Paris	85	30	35	10	10
London	70	30	30	5	5
Rome	85	20	25	10	10
Average	90	30	40	10	10

Table 3: What is included in the costs (1)

Description	1st Class	Economy
Hotel	Double room and breakfast for 2 nights, service and taxes	Luxury hotel with bath
Meals	For two with wine and coffee including service: table d'hôte in hotel "Gastronomic" dinner	Luxury hotel with bath
Entertainment	Light lunch, egg salad and cheese Lunch in a country restaurant For 2: Theatre/opera Night club entrance and 1 drink Museum admission Admission to out of town site	1st class 1st class Best seats 1st class
Travel	Five 2km journeys Two 20 km journeys Half day sightseeing tour	Public transport (2) Coach Cheapest coach

(1) Prices are based on data from national tourist boards but adjusted to maintain comparability.

(2) Including car hire or all-day tickets where appropriate.

cheapest overall, both because of this and because of its reasonably priced hotels.

Public transport in Rome is very cheap, but transport costs overall come out higher than in London because sightseeing is quite dear. In terms of price, perhaps the most remarkable thing about Paris is that, in spite of all its romantic associations, the city comes out as being close to the average on almost every count.

James Rothman

a tourist visits a city he may pictures in colour, but he sees black and white. The natives are friendly or hostile, the hygiene is good or bad, the prices are either amazing or an outrageous extortion.

have tried to find the truth of tourist costs by comparing in four main European cities, in Paris, Rome and Hamburg, comparison excludes cost of transport arriving or leaving but in it during the course of the stay, we assumed our tourists—a husband and wife—arrive at their hotel on Friday and have dinner there. Day morning they shop; costs are not included since impulse purchases can hardly be forecast.

a light lunch they visit two museums and in the evening go to a theatre or opera, have a dinner with all their friends about when they come and visit a night club where they sit down to eat and drink. On a morning our travellers take a sightseeing tour and then one monument out of town such as Versailles or Hampton Court, and had lunch on the way.

have estimated our costs for two of tourists, those who can afford to stay in the best hotels and those who wish to economise as far as possible still having a good time. The way in which each cost is made up are shown in table 3.

for the two types of tourists shown separately in tables 1 and 2, both cases Hamburg is the most expensive city, followed by Paris, and Rome in that order. First-class hotel costs in Hamburg, however, are cheaper than in Paris or London, but the high cost of meals and entertainment ensures that it is the most expensive overall.

the other hand, economy hotel in Hamburg are still relatively at 40 per cent of the first-class cost instead of about a quarter as

BRUSSELS BACKSTAGE

Morale at low ebb

Nothing much happened in Brussels in May. The Community, having got over the ersatz agitation that accompanies the fixing of farm prices, relapsed into somnolence. Two dates, two weekends, stand out in last month's calendar: the economic summit meeting in London on May 7 and 8, at which the Community as such was pretty well ignored and certainly did not play a prominent role, and then the weekend of May 20 and 21 over which the Nine began to formulate a common doctrine on enlargement.

The Commission for its part continues to give the impression of working and thinking in slow motion, of not yet having found a satisfactory cruising speed. After five months, the Brussels engine is apparently still not firing on all cylinders.

The effects of this malfunction can be felt within the Commission: the atmosphere in the Berlaymont building has rarely been worse. Most of the staff are exasperated with the round of administrative reforms, the purpose of which is not obvious, and, worst of all, which seem to be going on for ever.

Entire directorates-general are spending their working days with their eyes glued to the establishment plan, torn between the delights of intrigue and the anguish of insecurity; the one thing that is certain is that the level of morale is not conducive to efficient performance.

What accounts for this unquestionably unhealthy situation? Mr Jenkins, the President, must bear his share of responsibility. Having arrived in Brussels with partly inaccurate ideas about what the Community and the Commission actually are, he has not yet found an effective working style. He is apparently still more concerned with politicking than with making the system work, motivating his colleagues and their staff and attacking the issues of the day.

But it is not by concentrating his energies on each and every turn of such conflicts that Mr Jenkins can best establish his credentials. This difficulty over accepting that the President of the Commission, to be successful, also needs to be an acute technocrat is of course not the only factor underlying the excessive length of this running-in period.

A few exceptions apart, the Commissioners do not seem to have built up many affinities. Things could have gone more quickly and discussions could have proceeded on a clearer footing if the members of the Commission had been divided into two or three political or ideological camps.

This is not the case. The distribution of portfolios, as organized when

the Commission took office, is so artificial and loaded with potential conflicts that it does not make for a well-knit team.

Signor Gioletti's position illustrates this point: is there any chance that the task entrusted to him—coordinating financial instruments—will be defined in concrete terms to his colleagues' and his own satisfaction? There is no lack of other prime examples, for instance the state of confusion in the organization of relations between the Commission and the European Parliament, or indeed between the Commission and the two sides of industry.

The picture is not, however, entirely black, and May was not a completely wasted month. Although the Commission's activities are restricted to administration for the time being, there are areas in which it is working efficiently. One example of this is industrial policy, where M Davignon gives the impression of being on top of his job.

The coherence and businesslike approach to the launching of the second crisis programme for the steel industry augurs well. A plan for the reorganization of shipyards should be out soon. Mr Jenkins for his part is gradually pressing forward with his scheme for increasing the Commission's borrowing capacity to enable it to participate in an active policy of direct investment.

This initiative, coupled with reform of the procedures for intervention by the regional fund and the social fund, is certainly of interest at a time when it is generally accepted that one of the priority objectives of the authorities in our countries must be the campaign against unemployment.

The "informal" meeting at Leeds Castle may also be regarded as a healthy development. The position outlined at the time by Mr Jenkins on the problems involved in the possible enlargement of the EEC was an astute synthesis of the often contradictory feelings of the member governments that laid down a line of conduct which is apparently acceptable to the Nine.

The Commission should draw encouragement from this and hasten the finalization of its proposals for the preconditions which the member governments seem to have decided are necessary before enlargement: reform of the rules applicable to the Mediterranean agricultural countries, and, perhaps most important of all, reorganization of the institutions.

In the case of the latter, much is at stake for the Commission. If it does not get its proposals right, if it loses the initiative, there is every likelihood that it will suffer the consequences.

Philippe Lemaître

Return to the regions gives the individual a chance

Europe is a bore. Why? Because for years it has been chasing its tail, preoccupied with its butter, its sugar, its wheat prices, its wine, its member states' obsessive vigilance against possible encroachments upon their rights by their fellow members, and because it occupies itself in generating vast quantities of paper which contribute not a whit to the construction of the Community edifice.

The imbalances are becoming more pronounced. West Germany's annual rate of inflation is moving towards 3 per cent, Italy's towards 20 per cent. The range of growth rates is growing wider, from a projected 4 per cent in 1977 for West Germany to 0 per cent for Italy. The combined balance of payments surplus of West Germany and Benelux is likely to be about \$7,500m, while the five other countries promise to show a deficit in excess of \$7,000m. With unemployment, the projected average for West Germany is 950,000 against 1,500,000 for Britain.

What do the citizens of what is becoming such an ill-assorted union think of the relationship between so many fine speeches and the realities of a disjointed Community? Certainly there is something rotten in the state of Europe.

The Old World was to have played the role of honest broker between the big two, having 30 years ago wearied of the charms of power-seeking. But, things being as they are, one should hardly be surprised if it finds no lines to speak or hesitates to take any initiative until the United States has stated its position.

Since it is clearly incapable, for the time being at least, of taking its place in the international policy-making centres which count, would it be too much to expect Europe to give back a little more human warmth to its peoples, to teach them to communicate more effectively, take a collective interest in the issues of greatest concern to them in their daily lives?

Many of the supporters of direct election to the European Parliament by universal suffrage believe that they provide a fine opportunity for lending colour to Europe and releasing it from its technocratic matrix. Why? Simply because the electoral campaign will be played out, not at the level of a supra-national abstraction, not on the functionalists' stamping ground in Brussels, but in the living regions of the Old World.

This development is consistent with today's trend in favour of decentralization of decision-making and a return to the regions which have been forced into the background by the industrial civilization.

The individual, like Europe, is looking for his identity in the labyrinth of functions which the division of labour,

the compartmentalization of life, and urban constraints have eventually imposed upon him.

Today, coherence is only to be found in organization, that is in bureaucracy. "I seek a man", said Diogenes, holding aloft a lighted lantern in broad daylight. Today's Diogenes seeks the "European citizen" but with no more success.

The strength of the ecologists' and regionalists' movements lies in their rebellion against the technocratic homogenization of individuals. The aim must be to channel these new currents, rather than allow them to degenerate into folklore fads or develop into irresistible and unacceptable centrifugal forces. Could not the European Parliament offer a platform for the expression of the regional cultures which have received scant support from our nations hitherto?

In a report, *The Regions and Europe*, commissioned by the European Community, Signor Riccardo Petrella asks whether it would not be possible to arrange the European landscape on a new basis by rejecting the concept of the centralized super-nation while developing existing creative potentialities on the basis of basic social structures.

Regional identification, taking the form of the assertion of the right to be different, has been a recurrent theme in Europe's cultural history. As Signor Petrella observes, it has been a guiding force in the development of European societies, counterbalancing the other major force in the history of the continent: the pressure for unification from the centre (social groups, political parties, economic forces, systems of values). The nation-state is not the be-all and end-all of the historical reality of Europe, nor is it the only important cultural dimension.

Is the rediscovery of the regional dimension compatible with the process of European unification? It is cer-

tainly true that the regions today are not what they were before the Second World War. To the Sardinians, Calabrians, Corsicans and so on, the Europe which they knew has now become the Europe of migration. To a lesser extent, the same applies to the Scots, Welsh, Bretons and Alsacians who have been drawn by economic development towards their national centres or farther afield, to other countries.

If European integration continued to develop along the lines of recent years, Europe would sooner or later find itself in open conflict with the most disadvantaged regions, which would become pockets of active resistance. Opinion is already divided: for groups of citizens in Brittany, Scotland, Sardinia or South-west France, Europe is a rather negative factor; whereas the prevailing view in the Italian Mezzogiorno, which has benefited from European integration, is diametrically opposed.

One of Europe's essential tasks is to avoid the break-up of the Community's territory between opposing regions, which means that it must create the conditions under which the main regional claims can be met. For years there has been talk of economic regional development in Europe and the haggling over the appropriation of funds for this purpose has not been forgotten.

Alas, the cultural dimension has been neglected and Signor Petrella's report has the merit of drawing attention to it, making concrete suggestions for lines of research.

Man needs roots just as much as he needs mobility, hence the need for a plurality of allegiances, a society in the plural in which all sectors of society can participate at their different levels, with equality of opportunity and mutual respect in the continuing task of creating the civitas, with the regions looking to Europe to devise the machinery whereby they will soon be able to make an active contribution to the building of the Community.

Mr Leo Tindemans, the Belgian Prime Minister, was right when he said in a recent interview: "Man identifies not so much with the wider community as with the small group, which perhaps accounts for regionalization. People need to feel at home in a society which does not obliterate the individual, human personality."

The Community must acquire a means of gaining a more intimate knowledge of the European citizen terms of his regional identity. It should draw up a register of public and private centres and institutes concerned with the study and promotion of regional cultures and languages; go on to promote inter-regional contact; European holiday courses on various aspects of regional policy and so on.

Perhaps one of the best chapters the Tindemans report on the European union is "A citizen's Europe". "I day that Europeans can move about within the union, can communicate among themselves and when necessary receive medical care without national frontiers adding to the problems distance, European union will be for them a discernible reality."

A discernible reality: this is the key to the vitality of the European idea. One must entertain no delusions about the difficulty of the venture, even the Parliament elected by universal suffrage comes into being. Indeed, curiously enough, Europe is attractive more and more other states, despite the drab aspect of its bureaucratic uniform.

And when the Nine have been joined by Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey, will not the motley of regions prevail over the opposite force of centralization? At the same time, for those responsible for administration of such an ill-assorted entity, there will be a strong temptation to concentrate on the Community machinery and forget the European citizen.

Pierre Drou

SAINTS AND SINNERS

Emanuele Gazzo: censure and harangue

Agence Europe, which has been run since its inception by Emanuele Gazzo, five years older than the Treaty of Rome, came into being at the end of 1952, at the same time as the European Coal and Steel Community.

Since then *Agence Europe*, a broadsheet which daily runs to about 15 pages printed on blue paper with no frills and no wasted space, has chronicled Community current affairs in minute detail.

It now appears in three languages: French, English and Italian (the German edition has been suspended temporarily). Multilingual publication is no doubt largely a matter of circulation figures but, in the eyes of the managing editor, it is also a means of denationalizing news and making it more European in character. The paper's circulation is not disclosed,

but it is thought to exceed 2,500 copies, which is regarded in press circles as a remarkable achievement for such a "heavy" publication.

The influence exerted by *Agence Europe* lies largely in the mass of information assembled daily by a handful of first-class journalists, which is devoured by business leaders, civil servants and politicians, but it also rests on Emanuele Gazzo's editorials, which appear four times a week. He rarely settles for mere analysis, but keeps up an unrelenting flow of censure, proselytism and harangue.

Emanuele Gazzo knew Jean Monnet well and still meets him frequently. His convictions, very much in line with those of the first president of the ECSC, have not altered. He wants to see strong European institutions vested with important powers. True to

character, he is voicing total contempt to the cause of elections to European Parliament by universal suffrage.

The attitudes to Europe shared by many people in France on the left-right alike—the distrust of supranational institutions, the preoccupation with independence from the United States, the priority attached to domestic policies—make his hectic rise because he sees them as so many unnecessary obstacles on the path to a *feder Europe*. Nothing is more alien to him than Gaullist thinking, and, since proclaims this indiscreetly and sometimes in uncompromising terms, relations with France's representatives in Brussels have been somewhat strained from time to time.

Philippe Lem

Michel Debré: living in an honourable past

M Michel Debré, who was General de Gaulle's first Prime Minister, is an honourable man with an honourable past—in which he sometimes appears still to be living. Periodically he gives us glimpses of this antique world, in which *la gloire* still burns as fiercely as the midday sun in a distant imperial sky.

Thus in January, when announcing the creation of a committee for the independence and unity of France, he said: "We are Europeans, but the first contribution we can make to the power and grandeur of Europe is the power and grandeur of France."

He appears to believe that this grandeur is dangerously threatened by the plan for direct elections to the European Parliament, which he described as "an intolerable attack on the independence of the republic."

Now M Debré is threatening to vote against the necessary enabling legislation in the Assembly. He wants the Nine to sign an additional protocol to the Treaty of Rome strictly limiting the European Parliament's competences and subordinating its activities to the Council of Ministers of the EEC.

M Debré's tender concern for France's sovereignty is understandable. He probably did more than any one else to organize the return of General de Gaulle as France's redeemer; and it was he who, as Minister of Justice when de Gaulle became President in June 1958, drafted the new constitution in his master's image. He therefore played a significant role in the rehabilitation of France, and may be expected to

fight vigorously against any threat to France's integrity.

But a man of his intelligence is expected to identify these threats with greater accuracy. Most European democracies face real dangers from interference with supplies of raw materials, notably from protectionism among their trading partners; from social unrest; political polarization; and to a extent, from international terrorism. Drastic shifts are taking place in world's economic order.

To launch a crusade against elections at a time when the European solidarity which even M Debré favours is under severe strain, relevant, and rather sad in implications.

Roger Bert

Duty-bound no more

On July 1 the customs barriers come down. This will be an historic date for the economic future of the nine countries of the European Community and for the seven European Free Trade Association (Efta) countries.

From July 1 goods will be able to move between the 16 countries almost free from customs duty.

After a transition period of more than four years, the fifth and final reduction will be made in customs duty between the six EEC founder countries and the three countries that joined in 1973, Britain, Eire and Denmark. Duty will be zero. There will then be no internal tariff within the nine Community countries, just as had previously been the case for the six founder countries. This means that goods can move freely within the Community.

Duty on goods from other countries will also be uniform. Apart from this harmonization, the national purchase taxes, other import charges and VAT will be the same irrespective of whether the goods come from EEC countries or others.

Exceptions have their place even in international commercial law: it is accordingly not surprising that the previous zero tariff on internal trade had an exception. Duty on horticultural products will only be finally reduced to zero on January 1, 1978, at the stage of complete liberalization of intra-Community trade. The same is true for the Community common tariff for non-Community countries,

which will be adopted from July 1 by Britain, Eire and Denmark. Here too harmonization will only be reached for horticultural products on January 1, 1978.

July 1, 1977, will also be an historic day for trade between the nine Community members and the seven Efta members. The plan for general tariff reductions—which was part of the free trade agreement between the European Community, and the seven Efta countries left after the entry into the Community of Britain, Eire and Denmark—led to the reduction on July 1, 1976, to 20 per cent of the original level of tariffs between the Community and Efta countries.

On July 1 the tariff for the seven Efta countries, Switzerland, Iceland, Norway, Portugal, Finland, Austria and Sweden, will be further reduced by 20 per cent of the starting level. This reduces the tariff to zero, leaving trade between Efta and the Community free of duty. With this step all tariff walls are removed on goods involved in visible trade—these are set out in detail in the European Community Tariff headings 25 to 99. To some extent this liberalization also applies to agricultural products, ever a bone of contention.

On July 1 Europe comes a step nearer to the goal of Rome, where the treaty setting up the European Economic Community was signed on March 25, 1957. Article 9 of the treaty set out as a basic condition of the Community a customs union which would cover all trade.

But the Community has gone to go before reaching this point zero tariff on intra-trade and a zero tariff on external trade may encourage movement of goods they constitute a customs union, not the projected community. The provisions of the treaty on customs require Community to reconcile statute regulations, relating to customs long as these remain unharmed there will always be illegal movements of goods to disrupt community inside the 16-country free trade.

The business associations of countries involved are accordingly pressing for an early agreement on tariff laws, which should be as simple as possible to apply, and will eradicate illegal competitive national administrations of countries discovered long ago tariff harmonization is not a thing as simplification of bureaucratic procedures. The main feature harmonization of customs stands the eyes of the administrator should be that it is easy to implement. Fiscal considerations will be considerable part here.

It is a pertinent question: Efta can survive after the harmonization. But the ministers of the seven countries already stated that even after come what may, they propose to stay together in the club of mid-

Hans Bai

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SPORT

Racing

Bruni to answer long-distance call

By Michael Phillips
Racing Correspondent

English hopes of preventing a horse named Bruni from winning the Gold Cup at Royal Ascot next week appear to rest firmly with Bruni and Bright Finish. Today only two leading contenders will be at Longchamps on Saturday when the Henry II Stakes is their objective.

Having seen Bruni win the St Leger at Doncaster and the York Cup at York it has long been my contention that he will be a big winner in the Gold Cup. Today's race was one of the few occasions that John Cherry failed last season. Probably the ground was too firm for him that day. It may well be no less for him again this time unless there is a deluge beforehand.

The Queen's hopes of winning this good prize on this fine day will be with her four-year-old Valuation, but it is difficult to make out a good case for a royal win at Sandown at any rate. Of those that I know about, a Major General Sir Randle Fielden's bay colt, Aberdoner, looks the best bet to win the Philip Morris Nickell Stakes.

There was much to like about the way that he ran at Goodwood in the race won by Walter, who is reputed to be the fastest two-year-old in training at Findon this season.

Blessed Soandos, Derrilyn and Swardman have also run well, though already to suggest that they, too, should run prominently this afternoon without actually managing to beat Aberdoner.

I am interested to see how Free Swinging performs on this his first start. Being by Seize Easy who won the King's Stand Stakes at Royal Ascot and the Nuremberg Stakes at York and out of a mare who is a half sister to Glen Strass, Free Swinging is bred to run fast and I note that he will be ridden by Piggott today.

John Balding's Canadian owner, John McDougall, is currently visiting this country and he may be rewarded by the sight of his three-year-old colt, Aberdoner, winning the Esher Place Handicap. I liked the way that Aberdoner ran at Doncaster yesterday.

Over only five furlongs Aberdoner could have most to fear from our correspondent is convinced that Luca Cumani's lightly-raced colt, Jet, will be a big winner. Jet is not only a good runner but he is a good horse, too. He was not badly wounded up at York but he still managed to beat Grey Baron by a neck. However, late yesterday Jeremy Tree said that Bright Finish would only run if there was rain.

Sandown has brought out the best in Grey Baron in the past and he ought to run well again today. Because of the meeting Bright Finish on better terms than at York. Like Bruni, Grey Baron is a grey and together they should make a fine combination. As they follow Bright Finish into the straight, the big question is which of the three has the

superior blend of speed and stamina. I fancy that it will be Bruni.

John Cherry won the Chester Cup and the Cesarewitch last year and now he enters the fray again after a busy winter's breeding. Today's race was one of the few occasions that John Cherry failed last season. Probably the ground was too firm for him that day. It may well be no less for him again this time unless there is a deluge beforehand.

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superior blend of speed and stamina. I fancy that it will be Bruni.



Jelly winning the Brigadier Gerard Stakes at Sandown Park.

True Appeal agreed could be included in the prize for the race. Fife and Drum was unbeaten as a two-year-old but he has been a little disappointing this season. However he has been racing over

several furlongs and I feel that he is probably a sprinter pure and simple and that he will be better suited by the shorter distance of today's race. Let us hope so.

Giles ends long wait
Mark Giles emerged from the wilderness at Doncaster yesterday when riding the 21 on chance, Happy Donna, to a runaway victory in the Vyne Maiden Filly Stakes. It was eight years since this month that 25-year-old Giles gained his only previous success in an apprenticeship race at Wolverhampton. After striking the front two furlongs out, the Michael Stoute-trained Happy Donna came home eight lengths clear.

Gallant Welsh plan
Gallant Welsh, after his all the way victory in the Groby Stakes at Leicester yesterday, may run at Royal Ascot either in the St James Palace or Britannia Stakes. I was eight years since this month that 25-year-old Giles gained his only previous success in an apprenticeship race at Wolverhampton. After striking the front two furlongs out, the Michael Stoute-trained Happy Donna came home eight lengths clear.

Price puts Gallic challenge in shade

By Michael Phillips

Ryan Price won the Brigadier Gerard Stakes for the second time in as many years at Sandown Park yesterday when Jellybelle came home four lengths ahead of the two Gallic challengers, Ronan Star and Larkhill. Twelve months ago Anne's Pender took the prize home from the same field and it was the grey jockey who confronted his trainer and his owner, Eamonn Alkhalifa, by staying a mile and a quarter.

"It's what I call a house," Price remarked to me later, admitting that he thought that a mile was his horse's best distance. Beforehand it seemed that our hopes of beating back the twin-pronged French challenge by with Norfolk and Lord Helms. But Lord Helms could not run because an abscess was found on his neck earlier in the morning.

So he remained at home in his box and, for that, Norfolk Air ever looked like winning. He may have done so as well.

Jellybelle was always in the thick of the fray along with Hadeney, but towards the end only he was in complete command. Not long ago there was a rumour that he had been sold to go to the United States. But yesterday Price killed that, saying that they had not come up with enough money. Jellybelle will now be trained for the Sussex Stakes at Goodwood.

John Dunlop was obviously bitter with Norfolk's performance. For a long time it looked as though his other four-year-old, Trustee, might compensate him by winning the Whitcup. But after looking like the winner a furlong from home, Trustee was overtaken by the Nadi Royale, who may run in the Royal Hunt Cup at Ascot, in which his trainer, John Dunlop, has already booked Carson for his Muscar.

If there was a potential danger to the Gallic challenge, it was the Stakes at the Royal meeting yesterday. He or she was not apparent to me. This race was won by Vigore, who is really no more than a useful handicapper. Yet Easterby told me that his kind as a Christian and settles so easily. He's got the pace to win over a mile and you could ride him in a cross if you wanted to. His jockey, Birch, echoed these sentiments as he said: "I've never known Sea Pigeon to be so

Easterby skill keeps the versatile Sea Pigeon on crest of a wave

By Michael Seely

That incredible seven-year-old Sea Pigeon gave a dramatic demonstration of his speed and class when overwhelming his opponents in the Vase Gold Handicap at Redcar yesterday. All going well he is aimed at the £20,000 Northumberland Plate at Newcastle on June 25. Sea Pigeon is also engaged in the Queen's Vase at Royal Ascot next week, but both his owner, Pat Muldoon, and his trainer, Peter Easterby, favour a tilt at the other Northumbrian prize.

Once again the summer of Sea Pigeon's career has been a triumph. Mark Birch settled him down in last place as Prince Pepp made the early running. Approaching the final turn Edward Hyde on Broken Record decided that it was time to try to slip his field and kick for home. Sea Pigeon swung into the straight, his legs were still some eight lengths behind the leader, still on the bridle. He soon moved up to the leader, still on the bridle. At the two-furlong marker Birch could wait no longer. Sea Pigeon quickly sprang clear to beat the strongly challenged Jagalle by five lengths with Ribblesdale two lengths away, third.

In the past Sea Pigeon has been demoralized for lack of courage, but there can now be no doubting his toughness and versatility. What a tribute he paid to Easterby's skill yesterday. When you consider that he scored over hurdles at Ayr in October, Sea Pigeon has now been on the go for eight months. Since he finished fourth in his stable company in the Night Nurse in the Champion Hurdle five victories in succession have come his way. His two wins over hurdles in that series were followed by a triumph in the Scottish Champion Hurdle and his successful campaign on the flat started when lifting the Cheviot Cup in May at Sandown.

"With the exception of Goldhill, this is by far and away the best horse I've ever trained," Easterby told me. "He's as kind as a Christian and settles so easily. He's got the pace to win over a mile and you could ride him in a cross if you wanted to. His jockey, Birch, echoed these sentiments as he said: "I've never known Sea Pigeon to be so



Mark Birch - Redcar double.

released. I was a bit worried when Broken Record went so far ahead, but when I asked him, Sea Pigeon was on terms in a few strides. He's a bit of a character, but I doubt that if Easterby can manage to keep him sweet after his long campaign, Sea Pigeon's winning ways are not yet ended.

Another fine performance was seen when William Barker's four-year-old Move Off defied 9 at 7 to win the Zealand Gold Cup for the second successive year. Hide drove Move Off into the lead, a furlong and a half from home and kept him up to his work to beat Autumn Glow by three-quarters of a length.

Jack Calvert is to be congratulated on his victory in the Vase Handicap at Redcar. He carried off 7 at 7 in his victory in 1976. Ready 10 furlongs is too short a distance for him, but he might run him in the Vase Memorial Plate at Beverley on Thursday and his programme will include the Ebor Handicap.

Mr Barker was not at Redcar. The joint master of the Zealand Handicap having decided to make the long journey to Chesham to see Willow Walk finish second to Horoscope in the BAW Ladies Championship. Barker's stablemate, Grange, near Scotton, has been owned and bred by his owner, Mr Barker, for many years. His best

animal was undoubtedly Move Off's sire, Farm Walk, who won the Vase Gold Handicap in 1968. Hide went on to ride his second winner of the afternoon and his thirty-fourth of the season when 10 at 7. Easterby added the odds of 13-8 laid on him in the Dornstown Stakes. This victory also provided Denis Smith with the second of a double. The Bishop Auckland trainer having earlier captured the Samson Handicap with Vidkun. After a slow start to the season, Easterby now has a winning streak of five. Easterby's win being his thirteenth of the season.

"It has been so cold and wet and I've been unable to give my horses any proper work," Smith said. "I've been at the Vase Handicap at Redcar, where Hide will once again have the mount."

Smith also had the satisfaction of seeing Victor's jockey, his apprentice, Lindsay, Charnock, ride the 10th winner of his career when, partnering Larry Owen to win the Zealand Gold Cup for the second successive year. Hide drove Move Off into the lead, a furlong and a half from home and kept him up to his work to beat Autumn Glow by three-quarters of a length.

At Redcar this afternoon, the seaside course commemorated the centenary of the Vase Handicap of the Royal Jubilee Sprint Handicap. This six-furlong dash was first won by Birch, who later to Jeremy Hildley's King Crosses, who confirmed the promise shown in his two victories as a two-year-old, finishing third to Lady Lark in the Great Eastern Handicap at Newmarket.

Denis Smith may saddle his third winner of the meeting with Brook Holiday's Fine Blade fully Forest Flower, in the Mares Handicap. Filler's Stakes and Rill Watts, two-year-old, Beldale Record, has been far to beat in the Wilton Maiden Stakes.

STATE OF FORM: (continued) Sandown: 2.30 Reveillon, 3.0 Bruni, 3.35 Picardus, 4.05 Beldale, 4.30 Beldale, 4.55 Beldale, 5.10 Beldale, 5.25 Beldale, 5.40 Beldale, 5.55 Beldale, 6.10 Beldale, 6.25 Beldale, 6.40 Beldale, 6.55 Beldale, 7.10 Beldale, 7.25 Beldale, 7.40 Beldale, 7.55 Beldale, 8.10 Beldale, 8.25 Beldale, 8.40 Beldale, 8.55 Beldale, 9.10 Beldale, 9.25 Beldale, 9.40 Beldale, 9.55 Beldale, 10.10 Beldale, 10.25 Beldale, 10.40 Beldale, 10.55 Beldale, 11.10 Beldale, 11.25 Beldale, 11.40 Beldale, 11.55 Beldale, 12.10 Beldale, 12.25 Beldale, 12.40 Beldale, 12.55 Beldale, 1.10 Beldale, 1.25 Beldale, 1.40 Beldale, 1.55 Beldale, 2.10 Beldale, 2.25 Beldale, 2.40 Beldale, 2.55 Beldale, 3.10 Beldale, 3.25 Beldale, 3.40 Beldale, 3.55 Beldale, 4.10 Beldale, 4.25 Beldale, 4.40 Beldale, 4.55 Beldale, 5.10 Beldale, 5.25 Beldale, 5.40 Beldale, 5.55 Beldale, 6.10 Beldale, 6.25 Beldale, 6.40 Beldale, 6.55 Beldale, 7.10 Beldale, 7.25 Beldale, 7.40 Beldale, 7.55 Beldale, 8.10 Beldale, 8.25 Beldale, 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Even the baseballers watch Featherstone

By Alan Gibson

LORD'S: Sussex, with all second

innings wickets in hand, are 146

runs behind Middlesex.

Welcome to the Jubilee. Monday

high speed train, 125 miles

an hour, to London, said the

announcer. He cautioned that not

everyone should be on the train

had been cancelled, nor that his

high speed train would reach

London in a longer time than

most of the old slow speed trains.

He listed the places at which we

should pause, five of them, six

if you call Slough a place, and

celebrated that in honour of the

Jubilee there would be no refreshment

facilities in the train. But

everybody got on and on their

face today, he said.

Late, thirty, unfed and observ-

ing the clouds sweeping down

from the west, I could

manage no more than a feeble

grin. Still, I arrived at Lord's in

a large family of Americans whom

I encountered and who were under

the impression that they were

going to see the Jubilee Test

match.

I tried, unavailingly, to per-

suade them that their travel agents

had got it wrong. They were

perplexed that there should be

no refreshment in the train, except a

few biccies outside the train, and

many pigeons who had fled

from the Oval.

Lord's even had to send its

spare beer to the Oval yesterday,

because they were almost dry at

the Oval, and the single was

changed to a double. Except for

being caught at a wicket, but

for the odd blow from Old

England's last nine wickets would

not even have added as many as

11. And by the way, had we

any satisfaction in watching

him, with three overthrows, a

gift from Walters fielding in

the covers.

over and going in to lunch each

with 65. They were rattling along

afterwards, with Australia in some

disarray, when Brasher was

stumped off O'Keefe, a long way

down the pitch. Except for Amis,

who continued quite serenely on

his way, that was the end of

any worthwhile English batting.

Randall, after one nice, late

sweep, was caught and bowled;

Barlow, who slipped up when he

changed his mind about the

single, was thrown out by Hookes;

Greig and Knott each made four

more than on Saturday before

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SPORT
Racing

Bruni to answer long-distance call

By Michael Phillips
Racing Correspondent

English hopes of preventing a horse named Bruni from winning the Gold Cup at Royal Ascot next week, appear to rest firmly with Bruni and Bright Finish. Today two leading contenders will be at Longchamps at Sandown Park where the Henry II Stakes is their objective.

Having seen Bruni win the St Leger at Doncaster and the York Cup at York it has long been my contention that of many more besides that he needs at least a mile and three-quarters to be seen at his best. For that reason there is ground for thinking that he ought to be in his element today when he will be racing over two miles for the first time.

Last year Bruni was kept to shorter races in Europe and it was over even shorter distances that he did his best in California this year when not surprisingly he was not a success on ground that was much firmer than he cares for.

Now Bruni is back with Ryan Price at Fintona and on the whole he is better. Today he will be ridden for the first time in a race by a professional jockey, Brian Taylor. Tony Murray and Lester Pigott have been his previous partners.

Taylor's presence on Bruni's back this afternoon makes today's race even more special because no one is more aware of Bruni's capabilities than Pigott, who will be in the saddle for the first time since he was a yearling.

Today's afternoon riding the big Nijinsky colt, Bright Finish, who has won his last two races, victories in the Jockey Club Cup at Newmarket and the Yorkshire Cup at Doncaster, has already beaten Bruni in an extraordinary close finish, but it must be doubtful whether he will have an answer to Bruni's speed.

Pigott has usually made all the running on Bright Finish and he will be conscious that Taylor will be shadowing him, playing cat and mouse. These things should be nice to watch. Bright Finish was not badly wound up at York yet he still managed to beat Grey Baron by a neck. However, late yesterday Jeremy Tree said that Bright Finish would only run if there was rain.

Sandown has brought out the best in Grey Baron in the past and he ought to run well again today. Because of the meeting Bright Finish on better terms than at York. Like Bruni, Grey Baron is a grey and together they should look a good public couple.

As they follow Bright Finish into the straight, the big question is which of the three has the superior blend of speed and stamina. I fancy that it will be Bruni.

John Cherry won the Chester Cup and the Cesarewitch last year and now he enters the race again after a busy winter's hunting. Today's race was one of the few occasions that John Cherry failed last season. Probably the ground was too firm for him that day. It may well be no less for him again this time unless there is a deluge beforehand.

The Queen's hopes of winning this good prize on this her jubilee day will be with her four-year-old Valuation, but it is difficult to make out a good case for a royal win at Sandown at any rate. Of these the I know only the Major General Sir Randle Fielden's bay colt, Abernethy, looks the best bet to win the Philip Morris Nickel Alloy Stakes.

There was much to like about the way that he ran at Goodwood in the race won by Walter who is reputed to be the fastest two-year-old in training at Fintona this season.

Blessed Soandos, Derrilyn and Swardman have also run well enough already to suggest that they, too, should run prominently this afternoon without actually managing to beat Abernethy.

Will be interested to see how Free Swinging performs on this his first start. Being by Seize Easy who won the King's Stand Stakes at Royal Ascot and the Nuneham Stakes at York and out of a mare who is a half sister to Glen Stira, Free Swinging is bred to run fast and I note that he will be ridden by Pigott today.

Ian Baiding's Canadian owner, John McDougall, is currently visiting this country and he may be rewarded by the sight of his three-year-old colt, Sandown, winning the Esher Place Handicap.

I liked the way that Sandown shaped behind Bluebird at the last meeting at Sandown. Over only five furlongs Sandown could have most to fear from Our Lady's John. Our Newmarket correspondent is convinced that Luca Cumani's lightly-raced colt, Easter Spring, has been working well enough at home recently to suggest that he ought to win the Wheatheaf Maiden Stakes.

The Queen is hoping to celebrate her Silver Jubilee Day by winning the £5,000 Johnes Handicap Stakes at Chesham with Wife and Drum. If the royal runner is victorious the Queen will receive a Silver Jubilee Trophy specially made by her personal silversmith, Professor Benney, which the Silver Jubilee

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Jellyby winning the Brigadier Gerard Stakes at Sandown Park.

Trust Appeal agreed could be included in the prize for the race. Fife and Drum was unbeaten as a two-year-old but he has been a little disappointed this season. However he has been racing over seven furlongs and I feel that he is probably a sprinter pure and simple and that he will be better suited by the shorter distance of today's race. Let us hope so anyway.

Gilts ends long wait
Mark Giles emerged from the wilderness at Doncaster yesterday when riding the 21 on chance, Happy Donna, to a runaway victory in the Vyne Maiden Filly Stakes. It was eight years since this month that 25-year-old Giles gained his only previous success in an apprenticeship race at Wolverhampton. After striking the front two furlongs out, the Michael Stoute-trained Happy Donna came home eight lengths clear.

Gallant Welsh plan
Gallant Welsh, after his all the way victory in the Groby Stakes at Leicester yesterday, may run at Royal Ascot either in the St James Palace or Britannia Stakes. I was eight years ago when I was after two hard races in two company. Fuke Johnson Houghton, the trainer, said, Gallant Welsh, wearing blinkers, as he did when running a good first to Redford in Newbury's Locking Stakes, forged clear three furlongs out.

Price puts Gallic challenge in shade

By Michael Phillips

Ryan Price won the Brigadier Gerard Stakes for the second time in as many years at Sandown Park yesterday when Jellyby came home four lengths ahead of the two Gallic challengers, Roon Star and Larkhill. Twelve months ago Anne's Preceder took the prize home to Roon Star and it was the grey Jellyby who confounded his trainer and his owner, Eam. Alkhalil, by staying a mile and a quarter.

"It's what I call a home," Price remarked to me later, after admitting that he thought that a mile was his horse's best distance. Beforehand it seemed that our hopes of beating back the two-pronged French challenge lay with Roon Star and Larkhill. But Lord Helpus could not run because an abscess was found on his neck earlier in the morning.

He remained at home in his box and, for that, Norfolk Air ever looked like winning. He may have done so as well.

Jellyby was always in the thick of the fray along with Radek, but towards the end of the race he was in complete command. Not long ago there was a rumour that Jellyby had been sold to go to the United States. But yesterday Price killed that, saying that they had not come up with enough money. Jellyby will now be trained for the Sussex Stakes at Goodwood.

John Dunlop was obviously bitter over the loss of the Brigadier Gerard Stakes. For a long time it looked as though his other smart four-year-old, Trained to Run, might compensate him for what he had lost. But after looking like the winner a furlong from home, Trained to Run was overtaken by the Nadi Royal, who may run in the Royal Hunt Cup at Ascot, in which his trainer, John Dunlop, will saddle him.

Bucar, Sutcliffe has already booked Carson for My Husher. If there was a potential danger to the Gallic challenge, it was the Stakes at the royal meeting yesterday. In the Temple Stakes yesterday he or she was not apparent to me. This race was won by Vilgona, who is really no more than a useful handicapper. Yet Easterby told me he was as kind as a Christian and settled so easily. He's got the pace to win over a mile and you could ride him in a cross if you wanted to. His jockey, Birch, echoed these sentiments, as he said: "I've never known Sea Pigeon to be so

Easterby skill keeps the versatile Sea Pigeon on crest of a wave

By Michael Seely

That incredible seven-year-old Sea Pigeon gave a dramatic demonstration of his speed and class when overwhelming his opponents in the Vase Gold Trophy at Redcar yesterday. All going well in the morning, the gelding will now be aimed at the £20,000 Northumberland Plate at Newcastle on June 25. Sea Pigeon is also engaged in the Queen's Vase at Royal Ascot next week, but both his owner, Pat Muldoon, and his trainer, Peter Easterby, favour a tilt at the richer Northumbrian prize.

Once again the manner of Sea Pigeon's victory was breathtaking to watch. Mark Birch settled him down in last place as Prince Depe made the early running. Approaching the final turn Edward Hyde, on Roon Star, decided that it was time to try to slip his field and kick for home. He swung into the straight, Sea Pigeon was still some eight lengths behind. He soon moved up to the leaders, still on the inside. At the two-furlong marker Birch could wait no longer. Sea Pigeon quickly sprang clear to beat the strongly favoured Radek by a length with Radek two lengths away, third.

In the past Sea Pigeon has been designated for lack of courage, but there can now be no doubting his toughness and versatility. What a tribute he paid to Easterby's skill yesterday. When you consider that he scored over hurdles at Ayr in October, Sea Pigeon has now been on the go for eight months. Since he finished fourth in his stable company in the King's Stand Stakes at the royal meeting yesterday he has won five victories in succession. He has won his way. His two wins over hurdles in that series were in the King's Stand Stakes at the Scottish Champion Hurdle and his successful campaign on the flat started when lifting the Cheviot Stakes in May. B. Muldoon said: "With the exception of Goldhill, this is by far and away the best horse I've ever trained." Easterby told me he was as kind as a Christian and settled so easily. He's got the pace to win over a mile and you could ride him in a cross if you wanted to. His jockey, Birch, echoed these sentiments, as he said: "I've never known Sea Pigeon to be so



Mark Birch - Redcar double.

released. I was a bit worried when Roon Star went so far ahead, but when I asked him, Sea Pigeon was on terms in a few strides. He's a bit of a character, but I doubt that if Easterby can manage to keep him sweet after his long campaign, Sea Pigeon's winning streak will not get ended.

Another fine performance was seen when William Barker's four-year-old Move Off defied 9 at 7 to win the Zealand Gold Cup. He drove Move Off into the lead a furlong and a half from home and kept him up to his work to beat Autumn Glow by three-quarters of a length.

Jack Calvert is to be congratulated on what was a very fine performance in the Vase Gold Trophy. He carried off 7 at 7 in his victory in 1976. Really 10 furlongs is too short for Move Off, who may be better suited to the longer distance of the Memorial Plate at Beverley on Thursday and his programme will include the Ebor Handicap.

Mr Barker was not at Redcar, the joint master of the Zealand Stakes having been asked to make the long journey to Chesham to see Willow Walk finish second in the Horoscope in the BAW Ladies Championship. Easterby's Sea Pigeon, near Scotton, has been owned and bred by his owner, Mr. Barker, for many years. His best

animal was undoubtedly Move Off's sire, Farm Walk, who won the Vase Gold Trophy in 1968. Sea Pigeon was born at York in 1968.

Hide went on to ride his second winner of the afternoon and his thirty-fourth of the season when Oat Pudding easily landed the odds of 13-8 laid on him in the Dornanstown Stakes. This victory also provided Denis Smith with the second leg of a double. The Bishop Auckland trainer having earlier captured the Samson Handicap with Widdun. After a slow start to the season, Easterby's Roper's win being his thirteenth of the season.

"It has been so cold and wet and so I have been unable to give my horses any proper work," Smith went on to confirm. "I'm very happy to have the Bishop Auckland trainer having earlier captured the Samson Handicap with Widdun. After a slow start to the season, Easterby's Roper's win being his thirteenth of the season."

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Sandown Park programme

[Television (IBA): 3.0, 3.35 and 4.5 races]

2.0 RAILWAY HANDICAP (875: 1m)

4 203-000 The Goldsmith (C.D.) (Mrs S. P. Pugh), W. Whitman 11
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2.30 Esher Place Handicap (3-y-o: £1,225: 5f)
10 203-000 The Goldsmith (C.D.) (Mrs S. P. Pugh), W. Whitman 11
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2.50 HENRY II STAKES (2-y-o: £2,438: 2m)
10 203-000 The Goldsmith (C.D.) (Mrs S. P. Pugh), W. Whitman 11
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3.50 CHEQUERS FILLES STAKES (3-y-o: £2,438: 1m)
10 203-000 The Goldsmith (C.D.) (Mrs S. P. Pugh), W. Whitman 11
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4.00 PHILIP CORNES STAKES (Qualified: 2-y-o: £1,225: 5f)
10 203-000 The Goldsmith (C.D.) (Mrs S. P. Pugh), W. Whitman 11
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4.0 WHEATHEAF STAKES (3-y-o maidens: £1,511: 11m)
10 203-000 The Goldsmith (C.D.) (Mrs S. P. Pugh), W. Whitman 11
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4.0 SANDOWN PARK SELECTIONS
Our Racing Correspondent
2.0 Goldsmith, 3.0 Revelston, 3.0 Bruni, 3.35 Picatus, 4.05 BERARD, 4.40 Esher Place, 4.40 Esher Place, 4.40 Esher Place.

2.0 SANDOWN PARK RESULTS
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THE ARTS

Precious little space to spare

The two exhibitions *British Artists of the '60s* at the Tate and the 1977 *Hayward Annual* at the Hayward Gallery have a strong relationship. This is not surprising as Michael Compton played a large part in choosing and organizing both shows. Compton is Keeper of Education and Exhibitions at the Tate and also a member of the exhibitions committee of the Arts Council. He is thus a man of consummate power in the art world. The Tate exhibition was organized by his department and he chose the Hayward show with two artists: Howard Hodgkin and William Turnbull.

The show at the Hayward (until July 4) is a first helping; seconds (or is it pudding?) come from July 20 to September 4. Many of the artists who appear in the Hayward Annual appear also at the Tate, some don't, and vice versa. But generally inclusion in the Hayward seems to depend on whether you are doing something similar to what you were doing in the Sixties, but in a smoother, more sophisticated way.

If not, Derek Boshier, for instance, *Is One the Identikit Man of 1963* is one of the better paintings of the English Pop school. It's funny and still fresh. It hangs next to Hockney's *The First Marriage* of the same year in the Tate show and I'm not sure that the Boshier painting doesn't now seem a better picture. But today Boshier works in very different ways. He hasn't taken the standard line of careful, polished development which marks so many of the artists at the Hayward, and he remains a more interesting artist than most of those included. Boshier wasn't represented in the huge *Arte Inglesi* exhibition in Milan last year either, the selection of which was remarkably close to the Hayward Annual. Apparently the idea of giving each artist a separate room-like space was inspired by the Milan show.

The individual rooms allow the artists' work to breathe on their own. It also separates the sheep from the goats. An artist needs resilient qualities to survive in these secluded white spaces. Among the goats are two artists of an older generation, Kenneth Martin and John Latham. Now in his early seventies, Martin is painting better than ever before, extending his superb series of Chance and

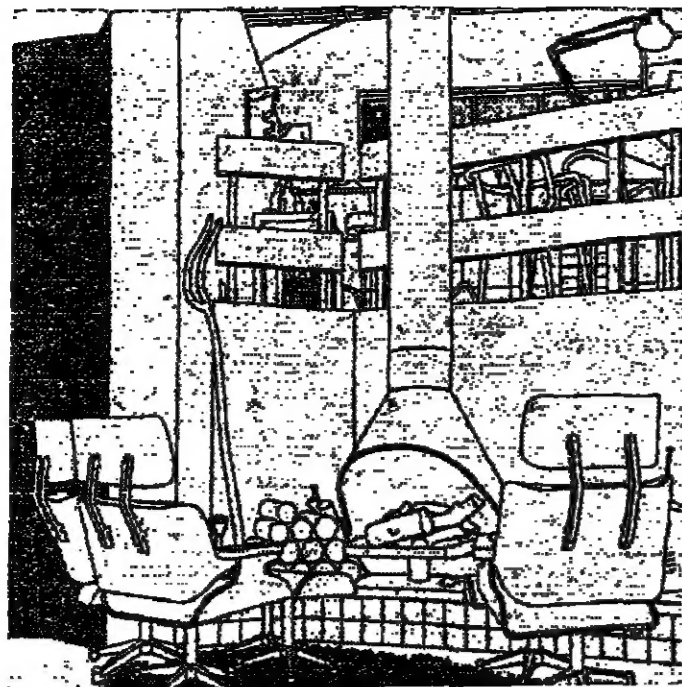
Order pictures in vigorous celebrations of the duality of the two great life-principles. Latham has taken the space allotted him and made a piece which uses sound as well as elements which have played an important part in his earlier work—books and "one-second" bursts of sprayed paint—which are here combined into a complex whole concerned with the process of time and the possibilities of describing it in art.

Neither Martin nor Latham got much recognition in the Sixties; their retrospectives at the Tate came during the last two years. (There is a work by Latham in the *British Artists of the '60s*, but for some reason none by Martin.) The Tate is showing the beautiful piece by Ian Hamilton Finlay, *Starlit Waters*, the free-standing name of a fishing boat symbolically covered with a net. Although Finlay was working on pieces like this in the Sixties he was almost totally ignored in Britain. (The Tate purchased *Starlit Waters* only last year.)

Most of the artists at the Hayward made their names in the early Sixties. Most of them show at the Waddington and Tooth gallery and most have had shows there over the past year or so, often of the same or very similar work as is included at the Hayward. What is the point of displaying this all over again?

The literature department of the Arts Council produces anthology volumes of New Poems and New Stories. These are a mixture of a few quite well-known and published names with those who are little known or unpublished. It doesn't fit its poetry anthology, but it is possible to compare one artist's performance directly with another. Some artists whose recent work looked quite well at the Waddington, like Allen Jones and Peter Phillips, appear much less good at the Hayward. (Other like Bernard Cohen, looked bad there and look bad here.) But this is hardly sufficient to justify such a lavish display of the familiar.

In retrospect the Sixties seem as a repulsive and tedious decade as the Twenties, with its mindless enthusiasms for technology and sex. (Sir Harold Wilson's phrase "the white heat of technology" unwittingly



Patrick Caulfield in the Hayward Annual exhibition: *In My Room, 1974*

Palm, by Ellsworth Kelly. Kelly is one of the finest and least known of the American artists. To the best of my knowledge he has never been given a one-man exhibition in Britain. Apparently Kelly was offered a show at the Hayward by the Arts Council, which he would have liked to exhibit in. (He is one of the few living artists who could fill the whole of the Hayward and emerge from it with reputation enhanced.) Good heavens, said the Arts Council, what confounded arrogance. So no Kelly retrospective.

One advantage of having several one-man Waddington exhibitions in one place at the same time, rather than successively at the Waddington, is that it is possible to compare one artist's performance directly with another. Some artists whose recent work looked quite well at the Waddington, like Allen Jones and Peter Phillips, appear much less good at the Hayward. (Other like Bernard Cohen, looked bad there and look bad here.) But this is hardly sufficient to justify such a lavish display of the familiar.

In retrospect the Sixties seem as a repulsive and tedious decade as the Twenties, with its mindless enthusiasms for technology and sex. (Sir Harold Wilson's phrase "the white heat of technology" unwittingly

encapsulated that unsavoury combination.) Peter Phillips's paintings, little known here until his Waddington one-man last year since his early success in the Sixties, combines those elements into sleek and physically repellent paintings which nevertheless perfectly capture the glittering superficiality of the age. He is probably as little aware of it as was Sir Harold Wilson.

The most impressive room at the Hayward is that of paintings by Frank Auerbach. Auerbach matured in the Fifties, not the Sixties, but he produced work consistently and developed a powerful, long figure through that decade. The new paintings strike out towards an area which is close to that occupied by Francis Bacon, but with much less self-indulgence and Grand Guignol. He uses line with a vigorous and in fact with Kenneth Martin he is just about the only artist in the show who realizes that line is as important an element in painting as colour.

To indulge still further our nostalgia for Sixties art and artists, the Battersea Park Sculpture Exhibition which died a natural death in the late Sixties has been revived for jubilee year. I hope to discuss this show next week along with the Henry Moore exhibition in Paris.

Paul Overy

ECO/Vasary Bath Festival

William Mann

Bath's most elegant and favourable concert hall is in the Assembly Rooms. Since their refurbishment the availability of the main auditorium has surely placed concerted chamber music at the centre of Bath Festival's syllabus. There, memorably, the festival brought us Barshai and his Moscow Chamber Orchestra. Menuhin with friends and colleagues in priors, quartets and the like, Irangard Seifried and colleagues in evenings of Wolf's songs.

There, this year, the Barok Quartet is giving recitals of Beethoven's string quartets. Sunday's concert there brought together James Vasary, who doubtless loves to play the modest chamber musician at least as much as the virtuoso pianist, with the wind ensemble of the English Chamber Orchestra.

They collaborated in performances of the two classic piano and wind quartets by Mozart and Beethoven. Mozart's quintet, K452, coincided with the first onset of great piano concerts: it began with K449 in E flat major, the first work he is included in his autograph catalogue of compositions, his own indication that, at 28 and with several hundred compositions to his credit, he was at last an adult, mature composer.

The quintet is completely worthy of the company it keeps. With marvelous invention, knowing and self-confident structure that goes its own way according to the dictates of the ideas, not of received convention, it sounds like a piano concerto, but with accompanying and quite prominent woodwind, instead of the strings that supported the earlier group of three piano concertos (they sound piano with optional wind support).

Beethoven's quintet is an

early work, written just after he arrived from Bonn in Vienna as a young, lone pianist. He was still an eighteenth-century composer, but he was already influenced by Mozart's quintet, but the invention is strong and attractive, for listeners as for performers, and the work deserves its reputation as the best young Beethoven, not only in the string quartet, but in the chamber music.

Music of such special kind demands a rapport not to be found in ad hoc collaboration, but prescribes also a certain stellar brilliance from all concerned. The ECO's wind quartet offers devotion, instinctive empathy of ensemble as expected and just the right degree of solo pride and artistry in prominent passages, even concerted solos. Fortunately Mr Vasary does not play the solo part, but his colleagues, giving and taking as the music prescribed, a proper chamber musician.

At first the tone of his piano sounded a shade plummy in the middle of the keyboard, but his articulation is eminently clean and scrupulous. Later, in Beethoven, the sound appeared quite acceptable unless one had heard those works played on a fortepiano of the period, which does deliver much of the concert octaves in the right hand, rapid bravura even though Mr Vasary played as if mindful of the sound Mozart knew.

The placing of trills by all was not truly stylized. By themselves the ECO wind played Elliott Carter's *Eight Etudes* and a *Fantasy*, quite an early work (1950), characteristically needle-sharp in resource (one of the more enjoyable studies consists of a common chord swapped between the instruments most subtly and beautifully).

Mr Vasary's solo contribution was Chopin's B minor sonata, a big-boned account, full of temperament, underpowered at the very end, yet instinct with relish for those who know and adore the piece, and who hoped to appreciate its glories anew.

Weekend World

London Weekend

Michael Church

As the flower of English manhood, in a baggy blue suit, slips gracefully off into the sunset of youth, the time seems ripe for a glance at the programme he leaves behind.

Weekend World has carved a substantial niche for itself in its first five years of life. Its viewing figures are relatively low—much malicious play was made with that fact when the Birt-Jay thesis was unveiled—but consider the time of its transmission: midday on Sunday is the hour when chaps are in the pub, when squaws are busy with their young, and when the decision-making classes, at whom we must assume the programme is partly aimed, are safely ensconced in their technology-free subsidiary lairs in the country.

And *Weekend World* has made absolutely no concessions to lazy or hedonistic viewers. Like the Open University programmes with which it runs in parallel, it adopts a relentlessly didactic stance which would be disastrous if applied to anything other than the most riveting subject matter.

Sometimes its approach has been disastrous, but more often it has not. Many is the time that I have sat glued to my set, albeit in dismay, as Peter Jay and Mary Holland have

ripped the veils from some political, military or economic crisis. Exploratory fireside chats with Len Murray, David Owen or Washington's chief Salt negotiator constitute one of television's more useful democratic functions.

Sunday's programme, the last of the current series, was not, however, highly successful. Looking determinedly regal, and abandoning none of his analytical rigour, Mary Holland burrowed behind the bonhomie and the bunting to see how serious the current threats to the stability of the realm really were.

Potentially they are very serious, of course. We did a quick trot through 500 years of economic history with the aid of engravings, cartoons and a collection of historians and political theorists.

We were shown examples of the pernicious economic effects of currency taxation, personal taxation, price restriction, wage restraint, and trade union hegemony. We met a newly politicized teacher and some parents who supported him. We heard a call for more government intervention in the economy, and another call for less. We heard an evangelical plea for immediate legislation on industrial democracy. This edition meant well, but it overreached itself.

Next autumn, LWT, what about a more appropriate evening slot for this rather important series?

The secret side of Candida

Eighty years ago, in the summer of 1897, Bernard Shaw's "mystery" play *Candida* was first presented to the public at Her Majesty's Theatre, London. This, as the *Aberdeen Journal* noted, was "a risky experiment"; but the drunken scene, Shaw was later told, had been "much appreciated".

Candida—a new production with Deborah Kerr opens at the Albery on June 23—had taken two months to write and two-and-a-half years to get performed. The time had been ripe, Shaw judged, for "a modern pre-Raphaelite play. Religion was alive again, coming back upon men, even upon clergymen, with such power that not even the Church of England itself could keep it out. The Reverend James Mavor Morell, the glib, sanguine, popular Christian Socialist clergyman, is Shaw's pre-Raphaelite; his Raphaelite is Marchbanks, the shy and unconvincing poet. Their rivalry over Morell's wife Candida somewhat epitomized the rivalry of plays for the Lord Chamberlain. "I beg to point out," he warned, "that there are one or two situations in this piece that require most careful interpretation, or they might easily become offensive." He was particularly nervous about the opening of Act III where Candida and Marchbanks are alone at "past ten in the evening".

But the delay in getting *Candida* on the stage had little to do with these quibbles. Shaw, who had made the play as "pleasant" and as practicable in terms of expense as he could, blazed the way for a new kind of play. In making Marchbanks a mere eighteen years old he had removed this attractive star part from the range of West End managers who, while heaping praise upon Shaw's play, pronounced it impossible to stage for another twenty-five years. If only, Shaw explained, "I had made the poet a cripple, or at least blind, so as to combine an easier disposition with a larger claim for sympathy, something might have been done."

He had written the part of Candida for Janet Achurch, a voluptuous fair-haired actress whose charm, magnetism and instinctive intelligence had, Shaw believed, failed to win her the success to which she was entitled. Together with her husband Charles Charrington, she had been responsible for making the work of Ibsen (in William Archer's translation) known to British audiences. Shaw had been to see her as Nora in *A Doll's House* three times during June, 1895, and declared himself "irradiated, transported, fired, rejuvenated, bewitched, by a wild and glorious young woman...."

Unfortunately Janet, who had contracted typhoid, was becoming a morphine addict. Shaw, believing that addiction to work was the strongest medicine, pined his will against her weakness and the ruthless inefficiency of Charrington. By June 1895, *A Doll's House* upside down and showing the doll in the house to be not the woman but the man, Shaw had designed the sort of part and play in which Janet could

excel. He had also unconsciously revealed the pattern in many of his emotional involvements.

As a child in Dublin, Shaw had grown up in a curious ménage à trois, his father's position as head of the house being usurped by "a meandering conductor and drolly original teacher of singing" called George John Lee who trained Mrs Shaw's voice. Lee's impact on the Shaw household had been enormous, and although CBS seems to have anesthetized his feelings over this arrangement he continued to admire Lee as a phenomenon. His own impact on the Charringtons was equally meteoric—as it was on the marriage of William Morris's daughter May, and on the friendship between Ellen Terry and Henry Irving. Lee had been Mrs Shaw's salvation: Shaw proposed through the medium of *Candida*, his drama of a three-cornered relationship, to be the salvation of Janet.

Critics have mesmerised themselves over the identity of Marchbanks. Did Shaw have Victor in mind, or Shelley, or as he claimed, De Quincey? "I certainly never thought of myself as a model," he protested. More's the pity. For in essentials Marchbanks is the 18-year-old Shaw, and it was De Quincey's account of his adolescence as a device behind which to conceal himself Shaw wrapped the part up in sentimental unreachability.

As for Candida, she is an entirely imagined figure—a true Virgin Mother, as Shaw noted on the manuscript (and not, as Beatrice Webb objected, a prostitute, who enables those falling in love with her to return to childhood and start again). Marchbanks's new secret is the "secret in the poet's heart" with which the play ends. Shaw was besieged all his life by "Candidamania" wanting to know this secret. In a letter to one of them Shaw explained that Marchbanks had come to realize "that life at its noblest leaves more happiness far behind.... Happiness is not the object of life: life has no object: it is an end in itself; and courage consists in the readiness to sacrifice happiness for an answer quality of life."

It was to this intense quality of life that Shaw strove to bring Janet Achurch; but he failed. By the time she played *Candida* on tour following the *Aberdeen* opening she was no longer the actress who had so excited Shaw in *A Doll's House*. The mystic bond between them that Shaw hoped would conceive words and bring plays to birth was dissolved, and he turned to Eliza Doolittle. Janet played *Candida* in London in 1900, but when she and Charrington asked to do it again that year, Shaw at last refused. "So you can now play *Candida*," he told Eliza Terry. "I shall be glad to see you play *Candida*, Janet took the part of Lady Cecily in *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*, which Shaw had written for Ellen. It was her last Shavian



Janet Achurch



Deborah Kerr

role. While *Candida* went on its way to becoming one of Shaw's most popular plays, Janet's most popular play, *Anna Karenina*, was going down. She was drinking, increasingly addicted to morphine, bored, reedy, frightened, worse than useless onstage. Yet Shaw continued to think of her as someone who, with all her faults, is a woman of genius the others, with all her faults, are only poor charms."

Michael Ho

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Youth and Music gala

Covent Garden

Joan Chissell

A century ago England was still "Das Land ohne Musik". Today it is the musical centre of the world. The reasons for this change are many and varied. But one of them is Sir Robert Mayer, whose ninety-eighth birthday was celebrated at Covent Garden on Sunday with a gala concert, under the aegis of Youth and Music, given by outstanding members of the younger generation to whose musical enlightenment so much of his life has been dedicated.

Significantly four of the artists chosen to salute Sir Robert, beaming down happily from the royal box, were singers, as was the late Lady Mayer. Sad as it was to do without orchestra in opera, the tenor, David Rendall, said that he had been given a packed one) down with generosity of tone and heart in popular Puccini and Mozart. There was also deserved enthusiasm for the new production of *Die Zauberflöte* follows which, like *Frau*, will be directed by John Cox.

With the exception of the revival of *Eugene Onegin*, Andrew Davis's Glyndebourne appearances have been confined to Strauss. Accident or design? "Accident" mainly. My first connection with the house was when I took over three performances of *Capriccio* from John Pritchard. Another opera had been proposed, but I didn't find the score too sympathetic and declined it. In that first season it was John's performance. I did very little apart from an occasional piece of broadening. Did this apply also to last year's *Capriccio* revival? Davis deflects the question neatly. "I would have hoped to have had some new ideas in three years."

The first half ended with the last two movements of Dvorak's American quartet from the *Chamber Music*. From the evening's compères Yehudi Menuhin, Richard Baker, Pierre Fournier, Joseph Cooper and Dame Eva Turner, Sir Robert received tributes calculated to make it among the happiest birthdays of his life. The entire company, a bevy of further celebrities from the theatre as well as music, joined Colin Davis at the end in a racy, excitedly scored new Jubilee Jig Symphony, joyously commissioned by Youth and Music from Joseph Horowitz.

Andrew Davis's Strauss

John H

Some while ago a plan was mooted at Glyndebourne for forming a nucleus of regular artists. Several opera houses cannot expect permanent companies, but there were clear advantages to be drawn from a small group of singers, conductors and producers who would expect to spend at least part of every season at Glyndebourne. This is his first successive season, and he is in the middle of preparing the first Sussex hearing of Richard Strauss's *Die schweigsame Frau*. Next was a new production of *Die Zauberflöte* follows which, like *Frau*, will be directed by John Cox.

Mr Davis, at the age of 33, has conducted all the major British orchestras as well as being music director of the Toronto Symphony. He has appeared, though, in only one opera house, Glyndebourne. This is his first successive season, and he is in the middle of preparing the first Sussex hearing of Richard Strauss's *Die schweigsame Frau*. Next was a new production of *Die Zauberflöte* follows which, like *Frau*, will be directed by John Cox.

He is objective about *Die schweigsame Frau*, which opens on June 29. "There is no point in pretending that it is Strauss's greatest piece. It isn't a *Rosenkavalier* or a *Frau ohne Schatten*. It has no metaphysical message. The weakness is the final act, which John Cox and I have trimmed a little. You can see the ending coming a long way off, such as in Act I. Blame that on the libretto or on the original Ben Jonson play.

"Perhaps we shall be accused of being a little, demented and heavy-handed. [Davis gives an imitation of a well-known German conductor.] But I think it's a highly comic piece, and the score is a fantastic example of craftsmanship. John Cox has a great gift for detail. Look at *Intermezzo*. That isn't a major work but in his hands it took on the appearance of masterpieces. Perhaps we'll do the same with *Schweigsame Frau*. I know it failed at Covent Garden some years ago—we were out to achieve something better."

The Davis/Cox Strauss partnership looks like ending with *Schweigsame Frau*. He is tempted by *Daphne* but accepts that it is virtually impossible to cast at the moment and is probably the wrong opera for Glyndebourne. So next year it is on to *Zauberflöte* and David Hockney's designs.

"I suppose I'm a little apprehensive about conducting my first Mozart opera, although *Frau* is an easier proposition than a big dramatic work such as *Don Giovanni*. Mozart is one of the hardest composers because he is so elusive. The answer, I think—and I have not conducted a great deal of Mozart in the concert hall—

is that you must never let the amount of work you put into preparing you get in the way of responding to each act, to those changes of mood.

"Zauberflöte can be any number of things if you concentrate on the expense of the orchestra. It is no slyly a fairy tale or a document; the audience is given a glimpse of it. I believe, though, the relationship between the score and the Queen of it is at the core of the opera and I think I'm now too sound a bit like myself."

Apart from his Glyndebourne appearances Davis has spent his next few years solidifying in the concert hall. "I would like to conduct opera, particularly B. later Verdi, but the offer to come in for too long a time is not a bad thing. I have worked on that time since accept invitations at the overstretching yourself I am not prepared to conduct a job is to his repertoire at the moment and to make sure that he does not try to savor a musical pigeon."

"It all goes back to afternoon in Cambridge. I was a scholar at Thurston. David and I asked what I was doing with my life. I was going to be a doctor. He was slightly aback and suggested a drink. So we went to a pub and drank a great deal of sherry. I think I must specialise in the one piece of music from him that I never

immoderate, for example in the heavy, doom-laden solemnity of the opening pair of movements; and contrasts between the dictioned music and the balmy melodic lines were emphasised. A certain self-consciousness over matters of accent and shaping, informed much of the choral singing, particularly in the earlier movements, and the sturdy music was often punched out with excessive energy. The choral tone became not merely well focused but uncomfortably hard. The LSO Chorus's virtuosity of precision, unanimity and balance, were of course in evidence too, but surely misapplied.

The most successful things came in the big choral fugues, where the powerful shaping and the strong attack to be admired (the "I haben" made a fine and in the solo especially enjoyed Luxton's steady, intense "Herr, lehre doch und his darker, more reatment work. "De haben": while Lucio floating line in "Für Traurigkeit" (once come to terms. Abbado's Adagio vico Andante, if rather soft, his music was not poetry.

We heard Mrs Poy in the "Laudate D. from Mozart's K339, sung with beautiful spangled phrases.

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